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RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

VOLUME 6

DECEMBER, 1941

NUMBER 4

<i>Will History Repeat in Rural America?</i>	Edgar Schmiedeler
<i>Research in Farm Family Living</i>	Otis Durant Duncan
<i>Aspects of Consumers' Cooperation</i>	Leonard C. Kercher
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<i>Notes</i>	Charles P. Loomis, Douglas Ensminger, Jane Woolley, Richard Ashby
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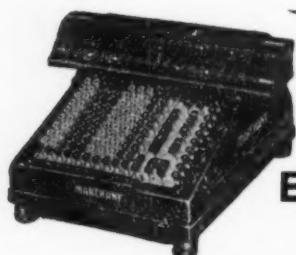
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Will History Repeat in Rural America?

*By Edgar Schmiedeler**

ABSTRACT

Time and again in past history have the lands of peoples become concentrated in the hands of a few owners. Rome under the Republic and ancient Greece are examples. The Jews in ancient Palestine guarded against it by providing for a periodic redistribution of the land. There are also many examples of such land concentrations in modern times. One of the most striking is that of England. The growth of large holdings began with the so-called "enclosures" of land for sheep-raising. In course of time other factors entered in. Even to this day, land in England is owned almost exclusively by a small landed-gentry.

The system aimed at under the various Land Acts passed for the disposal of the public domain of the United States was the very antithesis of this. A multiplication of small independent homesteads was the purpose behind all of them. "Keep the plow in the hands of the owner" was the cry. But history also seems to be repeating itself in the United States today. The old homestead or family-size type of farm is declining. It is being absorbed by the large-scale operator. The 1940 Census shows that a meager 1.6 per cent of the farmers of the nation—those farming 1000 acres or more—now operate 34.3 per cent of all land in farms. Small farms—those of but a few acres—are also increasing, at least in number if not in total acreage. But the type of farm between these two extremes is losing its battle for existence. Outstanding among the causes of this change is the mechanization of agriculture. Little, if anything, is being done to check it or to offset its harmful effects.

Certainly one of the ways in which the dictum has often been fulfilled that history repeats itself is the recurrent concentration of land in the hands of the few. Various names have been given this phenomenon in different countries and at different periods of history. But whatever the term applied to it, it always means substantially the same thing. It means extensively farmed, landed properties in the hands and under the control of individual landlords or corporate owners. It means the uprooting of masses of people from the soil. It means all that such a disrupting and disturbing process implies.

Pliny used the term "latifundium" for such a giant landed property controlled by one individual. He left no question whatever regarding the harm he felt these latifundia could do. Indeed, he expressed it most forcefully in one short sentence: "Latifundia perdidere Italiam." And he was right. Large concentrations of land can destroy nations. They unquestionably undermined the Roman Republic. They caused repeated revolutions in ancient Greece. They seriously harmed country after country in medieval and modern times.

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And now there is definite evidence of the growth of this ancient evil in the United States. History seems about to repeat itself here too. What a pity that would be. For no great country in history has had such a propitious beginning as the United States with regard to the disposition of her vast land resources. Attention may well be given this original disposition of her lands before turning to the present situation.

Behind all our major land acts there was always the same idea: The land belongs to the people; a division of the same for the benefit of all is an obligation on the part of the government. The legislators knew well the lessons of history and warned against repeating the mistakes that had been made in other countries. "They left behind them the whole feudal policy of the other continent," said Daniel Webster, speaking of the New Englanders a century and more ago. Reminding of their general economic equality he went on to say: "They were themselves, either from their original condition or from the necessity of their common interest nearly on a general level in respect to property." He urged that this relative equality be kept through a sound system of disposing of the public land. Somewhat later Congressman Holman of Indiana expressed the views of great numbers of others of his countrymen when he urged: "Instead of baronial possessions, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads. Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner."

The legislation that was enacted was in accordance with these sentiments. The first comprehensive land act was that of 1796.¹ The newly-launched government needed money, and it sought to get it by selling the public lands to the people for cash. In 1800 the law was amended to allow some credit. Land could then be had by paying one-fourth down and adding the rest in annual installments. Unfortunately under this plan many farmers became indebted to the government and could not pay out. As a result there was a return in 1820 to cash sales at \$1.25 an acre. Under both these cash and credit sales the government disposed of 220,000,000 acres of the public domain. Speculation in land crept in during this first period but warning voices were raised against it.

The foregoing period is often referred to as the revenue period. The next period, introduced by the so-called Preemption Act of 1841, saw some changes in the government's land policy. Under the new act settlers were allowed to settle on tracts of not over 160 acres or less than

¹ B. H. Hibbard. *A History of The Public Land Policies*, New York, Macmillan, 1924.

40 acres before such lands were offered for sale. They were required to erect houses on the land and improve a part of it. Having done this they could buy the land without competition. In other words, when the land was eventually offered for sale by the government the settler had the first right to purchase it at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre.

The Preemption Act remained in force, with various modifications, until 1891. But even some decades before that the demand had effectively arisen for the public domain to be thrown open to settlement on still more liberal terms, in order that a nation of small home-owning farmers might be assured. Speculation was still found, and the people inveighed against it. They insisted that the public lands be held as a sacred trust by the government and be freely distributed to bona fide tillers of the soil. The final result was the famed Homestead Act of 1862. This threw open the public domain on most liberal terms. It provided that the settler could acquire claim to a farm of 160 acres, free of all charges except a small filing fee, by living on the homestead for five years, erecting a house on it, and working a part of the land. At the end of five years the settler could get free title to the land. In 1916 the Homestead Act was amended to provide for a maximum homestead of 640 acres of land in specific cases, that is, instances in which land was designated by the Secretary of the Interior as "stock-raising" land. Between 1862 and 1923, 213,867,600 acres of the public domain were disposed of to settlers under this Homestead Act. A million and a third new homesteads were established under its provisions. While this arrangement did not bring to an end all speculation in land, or kindred abuses, it undoubtedly proved the wisest of the various legislative acts that had been passed regarding the public domain.

Speaking of the Homestead Act after it had been in force for eighteen years, the eminent student of the public domain, Donaldson, pointed out that it was the outgrowth of a system extending through nearly eighty years. Then he went on to say: "And now, within a circle of a hundred years since the United States acquired the first of her public lands, the Homestead Act stands as the concentrated wisdom of legislation for settlement of public lands. It protects the government, it fills the states with homes, it builds up communities, and lessens the chances of social and civil disorder by giving ownership of the soil in small tracts to the occupants thereof. It was copied from no other nation's system. It was originally American, and remains a monument to its originators."²

How true were his words! And well might he have added, had he

² *Op. cit.*

been able to peer into the future some decades: "It made the nation a land of family-sized farms such as the world has never seen."

But what might be Donaldson's reaction today? The situation has changed not a little since the end of that first century with its results, of which he spoke so glowingly. Indeed, the half century and more that has followed it, has seen the rise of evils in our land system neither contemplated nor foreseen by the fathers of the Homestead and other Acts. It has witnessed the growth of factors that have fostered "baronial estates," that have given a decided set-back to the family-farm ideal. It has witnessed a development that makes many fear that at this late date "other nations' systems" will now "be copied," that the system which was "originally American" will now no longer remain as "a monument to its originators." There is much evidence that history is about to repeat itself in rural America.

Matters have already gone far. Both in terms of people and of acres affected sum totals are already very impressive. This is readily apparent from the Census, from various studies, and from hearings of a number of committees, notably the Select House Committee Investigating the Inter-state Migration of Destitute Citizens, popularly known as the Tolan Committee. These sources show that many former owners of family farms are no longer owners. They show that many farm renters are no longer renters. Both owners and renters in large numbers have been pushed off the land. They have been dispossessed. They have become migrants, wanderers, landlopers, people without land. According to one member of the Tolan Committee there are today in the United States perhaps four million men, women and children constantly on the move, seeking a means of livelihood where they find it. Nor does that tell the whole story. There are besides these "habitual migrants"—a variety of agricultural workers who follow the crops—hundreds of thousands of uncounted so-called "removal migrants" or farm families who are forced to move year after year, and who are commonly the first to be pushed into the ranks of the migratory workers. In addition there are at present the "defense migrants." Regarding these latter is it too pessimistic to ask, "What will be the aftermath?"

An offshoot of all this shift and change of population is the fact that the land is being concentrated into large holdings—"baronial estates" or "latifundia" if these words are preferred. In other words, in terms of acreages too the picture shows great changes. As the Census figures indicate, big industrialized farms have increased sharply both in number and in total acreage. On the other hand, the family-sized farm, the

American ideal, has lost ground. It has slipped definitely backward. Insofar as the small subsistence farm, of three acres or less, is concerned, it has grown in number but not in total acreage.

Here are a few 1940 Census figures that are to the point. A meager 1.6 per cent of the farmers of the United States, those with farms of a thousand acres or more, now operate 34.3 per cent of all land in farms. Farms of 10,000 acres and over account for 14 per cent of all land farmed in the United States. These latter farms have increased both in acres and in number by 18 per cent since 1935 alone. The farms in the middle acreage bracket are being absorbed by the larger scale operator. They are struggling unsuccessfully for survival. Thus, tracts ranging from 50 to 175 acres dropped from 28.3 per cent of the total number of United States farms in 1930 to 25.0 per cent in 1940. Of particular significance is the fact that even in the period of general upturn between 1935 and 1940 this middle-size farm did not regain its former hold. It continued in decline.

Taking a somewhat longer period—that is, from 1910 to 1935—one notes the same trend. Farms of 500 acres and more increased 46.0 per cent; those under 50 acres grew by 19.6 per cent. Farms between, that is farms ranging from 50 to 500 acres, decreased by 6.8 per cent. The old baronial estate at one end and the small holding of the serf or peon at the other, seem to be coming to the fore. The family-size farm, the pride of a free and independent yeomanry, is losing out. History has already gone far towards repeating itself in rural America.

What the unfortunate results are, in the case of the many who are pushed off their farms in this revolution in land, is known in some measure by Americans—thanks, chiefly to the volume, "*Grapes of Wrath*" by John Steinbeck, and the moving picture based on it. Whatever may be said of some of the details, the outline of his descriptive picture is true to fact. And the results have been much the same in other countries in the past. This was strikingly the case in England at the time of "the enclosures," as witnessed by Sir Thomas More's description in his *Utopia*. It seems to contain everything but the modern jallopy, the term Joad, and, of course, the common law marriage. The recently canonized More wrote:

"Therefore that one covetous and insatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and inclose many thousands of acres of ground within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own, or else either by cunning or fraud, or by violent oppression, they be put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries they

be so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all: by one means therefore or by other, either by hook or crook, they must needs depart away; poor, silly, wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge, I say, out of their own accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. All their household stuff, which is very little worth, they be constrained to see it for a thing of naught."

More was writing of fifteenth and sixteenth century England when tenants were forced from their holdings to permit the building up of large sheep enclosures. The English wool export trade was growing at the time, and wealthy urban merchants bought land in large quantities for the raising of sheep. To make possible large enclosures for the purpose the tenants were driven off their holdings. Even many freeholders and copyholders, protected by the law, were evicted by chicanery. It has been estimated that, during the reign of Henry VIII (1507-47) alone, 50,000 peasant farms were abandoned. The government intervened, though largely without effect, to put an end to the depopulation of the countryside. Thus, in 1489 an act prohibited the destruction of peasant farms containing 20 or more acres of land. Some years later Henry VIII decreed that a landowner might not keep more than 2000 sheep. Both attempts to stem the tide, however, proved ineffectual. The number of peasant evictions continued on apace; migrancy and vagrancy became serious problems. To be sure, the growth of industry in the towns at the time helped somewhat to take up the slack. But the situation long remained a very serious one. As More's words indicate, the hardships and evils that accompanied the change were truly dreadful.

A large variety of factors have entered into the creation of latifundia or large estates. Sheep growing, as we have seen, was an important factor in the case of England. More speaks of cunning and fraud and even violent oppression being used in evicting the tenants and gaining control of the land. In other countries it was growing military power and political corruption that figured chiefly in the process of driving the small holders to the wall and concentrating land in the hands of the few. Still other factors played a part. In the Rome that followed the Punic Wars the development was along the following lines: The old laws which had formerly protected the peasantry became obsolete while the Roman nobility, excluded from trade and commerce, began to build

latifundia as capitalistic enterprises. These enabled them to make use of their booty money and of the slaves captured in Roman campaigns. Behind the entire venture was the profit motive. In many countries large estates developed because the wealthy found land a handy, and often the chief, medium of investment. In recent years this has even been true in some measure of the United States. Wealth had been gradually drained from the country into the city. Industrial enterprises slowed down in the city. The urban plutocrats turned to the countryside investing their funds in the acres of the "country gentlemen" whom they had impoverished.

But there is one very special factor in the case of the American change that is relatively new. It is the machine, and particularly the non-horse power machine. This has been in use for some time. Some types of machines, notably the tractor, have been extensively used. There has been a rapidly growing use too of such offspring of man's ingenuity as corn pickers, pick-up hay balers, side-delivery rakes, and mechanical feed hoists. And there are no signs of abatement. Even more recently the appearance of rubber tires on tractors—and now on still other machines—has furthered still more the cultivation of large acreages by individual operators or by corporate groups. Since these rubber-tired power machines can move rapidly from place to place, it is no longer essential that farm land be contiguous. The farmer can cultivate a number of farms, each quite far removed from the others.

Perhaps the reason that originally induces the farmer to use machinery is that it lessens work for the farm family and reduces dependence on outside help. But soon thereafter he discovers that machinery is costly, that to make it really pay it must be put to work. He learns that the more it is used, the less the per acre or per bushel cost of power. So the drive is on for the owner to take over more and more land.

A few examples taken from the Tolan Committee hearings show how this actually works out. Thus, there is the case of a well-to-do farmer in the Red River Valley. He had for some time been operating 11 quarter sections of land. He is now operating 21 quarter sections. A number of families were pushed off the land by him. Three of these, unable to rent farms because of the strong competition for land on the part of big operators, are on relief in nearby towns. Another instance recorded is that of an individual who asked 20 of his renters, some of whom had rented their farms from him for many years, to vacate them so he might farm them himself. The farms extended into ten counties. Still another instance speaks of 10 operators controlling 70 sections of

land. In all cases the results are much the same. Mechanized farms mean fewer farms and fewer farmers—also fewer hired hands on the more limited number of farms that remain. And what becomes of those who are driven off their acres? As is well known, there is no new frontier to go to; farms are scarce; unemployment is rampant in the cities. The answer to the question is that some become truckers for other farmers; some get part-time work in vegetable fields; others get WPA jobs; still others go on relief. All without exception are reduced in status. None of them are any longer independent American yeomen. Nor is this the whole story. The individual suffers in many ways. The family suffers too. In the final analysis, the nation suffers greatly.

Mechanization of American farms has already progressed far. The machine is found extensively in the Corn Belt, in the Cotton Belt, and in the Wheat Belt. Insofar as individual states are concerned, it has gone farther in California than in any other commonwealth. In 1938 for example, according to the 1938 editions of Poor's *Industrial Volume* and Walker's *Manual of Pacific Coast Securities*, 38 corporations engaged in farming in that state reported holdings of 1,866,148 acres. In 1937 aggregate sales' income of 293 California farm corporations amounted to \$72,245,630, or nearly a quarter million dollars each on the average, according to the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue. Incidentally, it is on these industrialized farms of California, with their hiring and firing of large numbers of workers, with their labor contractors, their armed guards and foremen, that one finds no small measure of the strife and brutality and violations of civil liberties that have come to the attention of the American public. This is a different picture indeed from that of the independent farm family so universally characteristic of the America of the past. Certainly it does not augur well for the future of the rural people of America, particularly if such large holdings are to continue on, or are even to increase in size and number.

And there is every indication that they will continue to increase. Mechanization is growing consistently in old fields and moving progressively into new ones, and little if anything is being done to stop it. The recommendations made at various hearings give little genuine promise that, even if the suggestions are put into operation, they will seriously retard the process. Perhaps the main exception to that is the cooperative ownership and use of machinery by small groups of farmers. While not as attractive perhaps as complete independence in farming, cooperative ownership and use of machines does represent one way of

enabling the small farmer to compete on some basis of equality with the large operator.

The rural sociologist will hardly question the economic efficiency of the machine. Nevertheless he can hardly look with indifference on the dreadful social results that are following in the wake of this economically efficient, mechanized agriculture and the large estates to which it is giving rise. If he knows any history at all he must realize that the ultimate results will be both far-reaching and dreadful. He must inquire with deepest concern: "Is not this catastrophe to be averted? Will history repeat itself in rural America?"

Contemporary Sociological Research in Farm Family Living*

By Otis Durant Duncan†

ABSTRACT

The work of Frédéric Le Play is regarded as the bench mark in the scientific study of the family. For a number of reasons interest in Le Play lagged in this country until some time after Wright's version of Ernst Engel's work had become rather popular. The great majority of family budget, or standards of living, studies which have been conducted in this country are neo-Engelian in character. Zimmerman has succeeded in turning attention to a literal interpretation of Engel's Law and in bringing the original Le Play studies to a position of prominence in the United States. However, most of our budgetary studies have adopted features of Wright's version of Engel's Law, traits of the original study by Engel, and characteristics of Le Play. Recently, the technics of correlation analysis have been grafted upon the older Engelian approaches. Budgetary patterns are now being used as independent rather than as dependent variables, while the Wright-Engel approach has been modified almost indefinitely. Lastly, multiple factor indices and scales of measurement are being perfected which give promise of producing radical changes in budgetary analysis.

This paper evaluates contemporary American sociological research on farm family living. The remarks concern mainly the work of Frédéric Le Play, Ernst Engel, Carroll D. Wright, W. O. Atwater, George F. Warren, Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, Carle C. Zimmerman, and William H. Sewell with due recognition being given to the sources of inspiration of these investigators and their immediate colleagues. Obviously, the paper cannot treat all the important studies of farm family living. It will be restricted primarily to the discussion of studies which have made more or less original and distinctive contributions to the theory underlying and to technics for analyzing farm family budgetary behavior in which the various factors included in budgets have been treated as dependent variables.

Scientific study of the family had its origin with Frédéric Le Play,¹ but his influence was not felt widely in this country until long after

* Adapted from a paper read before the Southern Sociological Society meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 4-5, 1941. I am indebted to T. Lynn Smith, Carle C. Zimmerman, C. Horace Hamilton, William H. Sewell, and Dorothy Dickins for many valuable criticisms made during the earlier stages of writing this paper.

† Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

¹ See Ernest R. Mowrer, "Recent Trends in Research on the Family," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4, Aug. 1941, pp. 499-511.

that of Ernst Engel, one of his successors, had been generally recognized. In some measure this fact must be credited to the greater drawing power of German than of French universities upon Americans who went abroad to study during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Engel first published in 1857 his study of the expenditures of working classes in Saxony. He dealt principally with the relative importance of expenditures for food in the family budget as a measure of the material standard of living. He implied that variations in the expense for other necessities bear a functional relation to that for food. Accordingly, the poorer a family the greater is the proportion of its outgo which must be for food, and other things being equal, the proportion of the total budget which is spent for food is the best measure of the standard of living.² This statement of the Engelian hypothesis underwent a considerable change when it was introduced into the United States by Carroll D. Wright in 1875, and as such was generally known until the publication of Zimmerman's first criticism of Wright's interpretation (1932).

Engel found that necessities were subservient to or behaved in accordance with the expenditure for food, the prime necessity. Wright's statement of the law does not suggest such an implication. On the contrary he claimed Engel found a lack of interdependence among the several "necessities" items. Wright's interpretation may be summarized about as follows:

As income increases,

1. The *proportion* spent for food decreases
2. The *proportion* spent for clothing remains approximately the same
3. The *proportion* spent for rent, light, and fuel remains invariably the same
4. The *proportion* spent for sundries rises³

This interpretation is scarcely in accord with either the language of Engel's own version or with the data Engel employed.

² Ernst Engel, "Die Lebenskosten Belgischer Arbeiterfamilien Früher und Jetzt," *Bulletin International de Statistique*. Rome: 1895, which contains a reprint of the original law. Also, Carle C. Zimmerman, "Ernst Engel's Law of Expenditures for Food," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 47, 1932, pp. 78-101; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1936, pp. 97-100.

³ See Zimmerman's *Consumption and Standards of Living*, pp. 101-102. Also, consult any standard textbook in economics since the publication of Ely's *Outlines of Economics* for essentially the same statement of the so-called Engel's Law. At the time of writing this paper I did not have access to the *Sixth Annual Report*, Part IV, of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1875, in which Wright's discussion of the law is found. My remarks are, therefore, largely an abstract of Zimmerman's critique.

As consequences of Wright's misinterpretation of Engel's Law, the bulk of all research done on family living outside of Germany, and in the United States in particular, has been given a different emphasis from that which it might have received had the law been rendered as it was written originally. In other words, what we have may be called a vast number of "neo-Engelian" studies. Even Wright's statement has been broken down and has had additions made to it until it has been thought to be capable of indefinite expansion. The studies which have grown up are neither verifications of Engel's original Law nor of Wright's misinterpretation. Yet Engel's work, however inaccurately it may have been treated, has been the greatest single influence upon American studies of farm family living thus far. In all cases it has been necessary to modify the law materially in order to avoid leaving the greater part of the farmer's spending unaccounted for.

While Le Play's studies have been far more analytical and descriptive in regard to both fact and theory than those of Engel, their direct influence upon investigations here has been relatively small. However, the theories of Le Play have added greatly to the content of our social theory of the family and have afforded us many highly useful concepts which cannot be found elsewhere. Probably one reason why Engel's work gained preeminence over that of Le Play in the United States, in addition to the reason cited above, is that Americans acquired a taste for massive statistics. Engel stimulated the statistical interest whereas Le Play employed the methods of the case study. We Americans have relegated this mostly to the field of social work.

Several efforts to popularize, or to extend, Le Play's theory and method in America have been made. In 1859 L. Simonin made a Le Play analysis of "The Gold Miner of Mariposa, California." Then, beginning in 1870 and extending to the end of that century, a series of such investigations appeared on the parts of Edward Young, Carroll D. Wright, W. O. Atwater, and the United States Department of Labor Statistics.⁴ Since most of these studies partook of the nature of official documents, it seems scarcely consistent to call them strictly Le Playian in character; they were largely synthetic investigations. Zimmerman mentions also that the Le Play School undertook two studies in Canada and one in Texas between 1885 and 1908.⁵ The Texas study was by

⁴ Zimmerman, *Op. cit.*, pp. 465-666.

⁵ The studies mentioned here are: M. Gauldrée-Boilleau, "Paysan de Saint Irenée," *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*, (1) 5: pp. 51-108, Paris, 1885; Stanislas A. Lortie, "Compositeur Typographe de Québec, Canada," *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*, (3) 2: pp. 61-132, Paris, 1908; Claudio Jannet, "Metayer de l'ouest de Texas," *Les Ouvriers des Deux Mondes*, (2) 4: pp. 101-172, Paris 1895. For

Claudio Janner, one of the inner Le Play group. A version of Le Play's theory of the family was undertaken in 1899 by Demolins, who may now be regarded as the chief publicist of a spurious version of Le Play just as Wright was of a spurious version of Engel.⁶ Probably Sorokin, as much as anyone, may be credited with giving an initial impetus to interest in the Le Play School, and secondarily in Le Play, in his class lectures at the University of Minnesota from 1924 to 1929 and in his early American writings.⁷ Efforts before these were made to bring Le Play to the attention of American students.⁸ However, the time was not ripe for them and for the most part they were obscured by the popularity of Wright's version of Engel. Finally, Zimmerman became the most outstanding American student not only of Le Play's theories and methods but also of the actual procedures he employed.⁹ Zimmerman and

abstracts of these studies see, Faith M. Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries*, United States Department of Agr., Misc. Pub. No. 223, Washington: Gov't Print. Office, 1935, Entries Nos. 2, 464 and 467.

⁶ Edmond Demolins, *Anglo-Saxon Superiority: To What It Is Due*. (Lavigne Trans. 10th Fr. Ed.) New York: R. F. Fenno and Co., 1899. The entire book is given to explaining Anglo-Saxon superiority over the Germans and the French in terms of the "particularistic" family. Elsewhere, Demolins makes a dichotomy of the "patriarchal" as opposed to the "particularistic" type of family evaluating the latter to the superlative degree. A careful study of this will lead to the conclusion that Demolins missed Le Play's point himself and confuses it for others. The principal types of families which Le Play identifies in his own works are the "patriarchal family," *la famille-souche* (stock family in Sorokin's rendition or stem family according to Zimmerman) and the "unstable family." Le Play does not use the term "particularistic family" in the six volumes of *Les Ouvriers Européens*, unless I have made a serious oversight after a diligent search.

⁷ Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1928, Ch. II. Sorokin's text gives little space to Le Play himself, but goes to great length in discussing "The Le Play School." He does not differentiate clearly the contributions of Le Play from those of his disciples.

⁸ H. Higgs, "Frédéric Le Play," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. IV, 1890, pp. 408-433. Paul De Rousiers, "La Science Sociale," (Trans. Cornelia H. B. Rogers) *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, 1893-94, pp. 620-646, gives an excellent discussion of Le Play's method. Charles A. Ellwood, "Instruction in the Observation of Social Facts According to the Le Play Method of Monographs of Families," (Trans. by C. A. Ellwood) *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II, 1897, pp. 662-679. This translation may have been published elsewhere in the French, but Ellwood does not identify it either as to authorship, which probably was of the Le Play School, or as to facts of prior publication. It was the first article on research to be published by the *Journal* and it was not succeeded by another until many years later. Up to the end of 1940, it was the only paper on Le Play to appear in that organ. This singular fact is related only because it is the mute convincing evidence of a lack of serious interest in Le Play on the part of American sociologists until 1925 or later.

⁹ Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935. This work contains both a critical exposition and an account of an actual application of Le Play's method and theories. See also, Zimmerman's *Consumption and Standards of Living*, especially Ch. XVII, and Williams and Zimmerman, *Op. cit.*, pp. 37-42. These three sources together with Sorokin's discussion (see fn. 7) comprise essentially all that is known of Le Play in this country. For further study see F. Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, 6 vols., 2nd ed., Tours: Alfred

Frampton have actually applied the Le Play technics in studies of the Ozark region.

For practical purposes, it may be said that 1895 marked the beginning of farm family living research in this country. Prior to that time several scattered studies were made but there was little coordination between them. From 1875 to 1895, and even after that, a great deal of effort was expended in doing the foundation work. As indicated above this was carried on largely through the pioneering studies of Carroll D. Wright, Edward Young, W. O. Atwater, and the United States Department of Labor. Atwater was a biochemist who found, in one sense, and sold, in another, the human calorie. Nevertheless, the bulk of the earlier studies applies more directly to urban than to farm families. This was probably due to the interest in industrial workers in the period of transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

In 1894 a study of 5,600 farm laborers of whom 2,488 lived in family groups was made in Michigan.¹⁰ Several investigations of disadvantaged racial and cultural groups in rural areas and of industrial workers in large cities followed. These include R. C. Chapin's New York study. Up to 1914 most of these investigations were conducted by the Federal departments of agriculture and of labor. Nearly all of these studies were based on small samples and emphasized diet. Probably the first study of farm families which attempted to include the whole range of family living (evaluated in terms of money) was made in Livingston county, New York, in 1909, by George F. Warren.¹¹ This study was important because it marked the advent of the Agricultural Experiment Stations of the State Land Grant Colleges into the field of family living studies and it initiated the practice of imputing house rent at a fixed rate based on the estimated value of the dwelling. Likewise it reckoned a money value for home grown produce used for family living. Thus, Warren introduced evaluation practices which have since caused much debate. He raised issues not yet settled. The value of home grown produce consumed on the farm and of a rental charge for farm dwellings are still two dubious points in family living analyses.

In 1920-21, E. L. Kirkpatrick restudied Livingston county, taking

Mame et Fils, 1877-1879, especially Vol. 1; Edmond Demolins, "Comment on Analyse et Comment on Classe les Types Sociaux," *Soc. Internatl. de Science Sociale, Brochure de Propagande*. There are many other papers and books on Le Play but those cited here give the substance of his work.

¹⁰ Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Twelfth Annual Report*, 1895, Part I, pp. 1-236, an abstract of which is included in Williams and Zimmerman, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹¹ George F. Warren, *Farm Management*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914, pp. 21-26. See Abstract also in Williams and Zimmerman, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

data from 402 farm families.¹² He estimated the value of home grown produce consumed at the going farm price, and made the rental charge for the house at 10 percent of its valuation. He also assigned wage rates for various types of family labor. Following this study at Cornell, Kirkpatrick made several similar investigations as a member of the staff of the United States Department of Agriculture and later at the University of Wisconsin up until 1933. During his period of activity in this field he completed probably two score of such reports in all. The general scope and approach of his studies remained almost unchanged from first to last. Regardless of differences of opinion as to the soundness of his method, Kirkpatrick must be regarded as the first rural sociologist to make great headway in family living studies. His research was influential in stimulating other investigations in this field.

In 1926 Zimmerman, collaborating with John D. Black, began a series of distinctive studies. At first they inclined toward the "neo-Engelian" approach and gave few if any intimations of their author's forthcoming change in point of view. Regardless of this, at the time he made these studies, Zimmerman was highly sensitive of the limitations of what he considered to be Engel's Law. He was aware that family living consisted of more than food, clothing, and shelter. He saw that if the law was to have a place in the analysis of farm family living, it must be modified so as to account for the competition between farm operation and living for the spendable income. He was convinced that expenditures for automobiles, savings and investment, and for health care should be identified separately. He concluded that expenditures for the satisfaction of physiological wants could be explained by the Engelian hypothesis while those for non-physiological wants, which were conditioned by psychological and other factors than income, fluctuated more or less independently. Zimmerman questioned Kirkpatrick's practice of charging 10 percent of the value of the farm dwelling to house rent, of evaluating farm-furnished food in terms of money and of crediting family labor with an arbitrary wage payment. All of these items he admitted were significant but he insisted that they represented a non-spendable income while he contended that it was the uses made of the spendable income which in reality distinguished one farm family from another. Even if these non-spendable factors were added in the income column, they would only have to be subtracted out

¹² Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Farming*, Ithaca: Cornell (N. Y.) Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 423, 1923, 133 pp. See also Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, New York: The Century Co., 1929, which is a general book containing the substance of his thought on this subject in a single volume.

on the expense side of the ledger, which after all would not change the distinctive features of one family budget in comparison with another.¹³

Out of the studies of Atwater, Kirkpatrick, and Zimmerman have come scales for standardizing consumption on the basis of individualized units. The Zimmerman and Atwater scales (the Adult Equivalent) are similar in type and are derived primarily from food consumption ratios. The scale was originated by Atwater and modified from time to time by Emmet L. Holt, G. Lusk, Zimmerman, and others.¹⁴ Kirkpatrick's scale is known as the "Cost Consumption Unit" and attempts to provide the worker with a standard scale for measuring the consumption of different types of goods by families of varying size and socio-economic status.¹⁵ The Kirkpatrick scale is somewhat complicated in its development, but on the basis of tests which have been applied to it, he found that it was more sensitive than the Adult Equivalent Scale. A third scale which came into use earlier than the Cost Consumption Unit is the Ammain Scale developed by Sydenstricker and King.¹⁶ This scale attempts to reduce the maintenance requirements of various ages and of both sexes to terms of that of an adult male. It is like the Atwater scale in that respect and like the Kirkpatrick scale in that it seeks to standardize the total consumption. Another scale is that developed by Engel which he called the *quet* after A. Quetelet, the Belgian statistician, who was Engel's source of inspiration. This scale is little used at present but its importance was great as a forerunner of the later scales.

¹³ See Carle C. Zimmerman and John D. Black, *How Minnesota Farm Family Incomes are Spent*, St. Paul: Minnesota Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 234, 1927; John D. Black and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Family Living on Successful Minnesota Farms*, St. Paul: Minnesota Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 240, 1927; Carle C. Zimmerman and John D. Black, *Factors Affecting Expenditures of Farm Family Incomes in Minnesota*, St. Paul: Minn. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 246, 1928; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Incomes and Expenditures of Minnesota Farm and City Families*, St. Paul: Minn. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 255, 1929; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Incomes and Expenditures of Village and Town Families in Minnesota*, St. Paul: Minn. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 253, 1929. These citations contain the complete list of Zimmerman's Engelian studies in the United States. See also his papers: "Objectives and Methods in Rural Living Studies," *Journal of Farm Economics*, April 1927, pp. 223-237; "The Family Budget as a Tool for Sociological Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 6, May 1928, pp. 901-911. He has made other surveys in Siam and in Cuba which are important in their own rights but do not fit very well into the scheme of this paper.

¹⁴ See the studies of Zimmerman cited in footnote 13 for his own explanation of the scale he used.

¹⁵ Ellis L. Kirkpatrick and Evelyn G. Tough, "Comparison of Two Scales for Measuring the Cost or Value of Family Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVII, 1931, pp. 424-434; Evelyn G. Tough and Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, "Scales for Measuring the Standards of Living," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March 1933, pp. 55-63.

¹⁶ Edgar Sydenstricker and Wilford I. King, "A Method of Classifying Families According to Income in Studies of Disease Prevalence," *Public Health Reports, United States Treasury Department*, Washington: Gov't. Printing Office, Reprint No. 623, 1930.

Some students, notably W. A. Anderson and C. E. Lively, have grafted crude multiple and partial correlation analysis upon the "neo-Engelian" method. While this procedure is objective enough in viewpoint, it is likely to be beset with numerous difficulties, not the least of which is the danger of running into logical fallacies and mathematical absurdities. Although these are precision tools, most of the data usually obtainable in family budgets are likely to be rough estimates at best. Even the tedious processes of multiple factor correlation analyses can scarcely be expected to yield results that are significantly more exact than those which may be had by the use of cross-tabulations, means, and percentages especially when the data upon which they are based are necessarily crude and inexact. Moreover, the methods employed by Anderson and Lively have not become widespread in farm family living studies.¹⁷

Perhaps brief mention should be made of, what is called for convenience, *The Consumer Purchases Study* which in its several aspects has been conducted cooperatively by the United States Department of Agriculture, the Work Projects Administration and the United States Department of Labor. From a methodological standpoint, the value of this series of studies is negligible. The enormity of the study is its chief justification for notice in this paper. Its sampling procedures are indefensible in some instances except on the basis of necessity and expediency. Its interpretative value is small. The study is a grand experiment in "neo-Engelian" technics. Its greatest positive benefit is the colossal accumulation of data it has made possible. Nothing as big as it can be ignored completely.

¹⁷ See W. A. Anderson, *Factors Influencing Living Conditions of White Owner and Tenant Farmers in Wake County*. Raleigh: N. C. Agri. Exper. Sta. Tech. Bull., No. 37, 1930. Here Anderson uses a thirteen factor series of crude multiple and partial correlations. For a more popular presentation, see his *Farm Family Living Among White Owner and Tenant Operators in Wake County, 1926*. Raleigh: N. C. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. No. 269, 1929. These two bulletins are units of a single study. See also C. E. Lively, *Some Relationships of the Variable Cash Expenditures for Farm Family Living*, Columbus: Ohio Agri. Exper. Sta. Mimeograph Bull. No. 36, 1931, and *Family Living Expenditures on Ohio Farms*, Wooster: Ohio Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 468, 1930. These, too, are both units of the same study. Anderson's study was also presented as a Ph.D. thesis at Cornell (1929) while Lively's bulletins were similarly offered at the University of Minnesota (1930). In Anderson's study crude multiple and partial correlations are computed on thirteen factors. Lively employed only four factors. Opinions may differ as to the validity of either or both of these technics. Neither of them is entirely impregnable in reference to the foregoing criticisms. Many of Anderson's dependent factors are so restricted in scope that the incidence of each when others are held constant is too feeble to explain much while Lively's four factors are so inclusive in character it is difficult to ascertain what they have explained when they have been correlated. It should be noted too that Anderson's data were gathered by means of a survey while those Lively employed were obtained from account books. Lively's procedure was, therefore, somewhat Le Playian in that respect.

During recent years a tendency to employ the socio-economic traits of farm family organization as independent rather than as dependent factors has appeared for the purpose of analyzing the psycho-social and the bio-social aspects of family life. The group of studies having this approach may be called the "Family Life Cycle Studies." For the most part this tendency got its immediate impetus from the writings of Sorokin and his associates, although its actual origins are more remote. Possibly Charles P. Loomis may be regarded as the most productive single student of this problem.¹⁸ However, Lively's short study antedated that of Loomis by several months. Loomis pursued his study as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University mainly under the guidance of Zimmerman and Sorokin, and patterned his work after the general scheme which appears in the *Source Book in Rural Sociology*. Duncan's study also analyzes the farm family life cycle similarly. The distinctive trait of this approach is that it divides the total period of duration of family life into four "stages" which are interpreted in terms of the socio-economic development of the family. Lively and Kirkpatrick do not employ the "stage" concept but break families down into duration periods. They do not identify the structural and functional changes which occur with the aging of the family unit as definitely as is done by Loomis and Duncan. While the studies mentioned here may be regarded as a beginning, none of them has advanced very far beyond the pioneer stages. However valuable a more thorough evaluation of the "Family Life Cycle" studies may be, that is a task which lies beyond the scope of this paper, the primary object of which is to evaluate the work which represents pivotal movements in the progress of the analysis of items in family living budgets as dependent variables.

A later development which appears to hold promise of producing epochal changes in methodology, is that of which the work of W. H. Sewell at the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station is typical. Sewell's inspiration came primarily from the work of F. Stuart Chapin

¹⁸ See Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press, 1930-1932, Vol. II, Ch. X, especially pp. 30-33. Charles P. Loomis, *The Growth Cycle of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities*, Raleigh: N. C. Agri. Exper. Sta. Bull. 298, 1934; C. E. Lively, *The Growth Cycle of the Farm Family*, Columbus: Ohio Agri. Exper. Sta. Mimeograph Bull. No. 51, 1932; Ellis L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, Madison: Wisc. Agri. Exper. Sta. Res. Bull. 121, 1934; Charles P. Loomis and C. Horace Hamilton, "Family Life Cycle Analysis," *Social Forces*, Vol. XV, No. 2, December 1936, pp. 225-231; Charles P. Loomis, "The Study of the Life Cycle of Families," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1936, pp. 180-199; Otis Durant Duncan, *An Analysis of Farm Family Organization in Oklahoma* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Louisiana State University 1941) Ch. VIII.

and Alice M. Leahy in devising scales for determining the social status of urban families in Minneapolis.¹⁹

In 1937 Sewell began the preliminary work on his scale, and completed the first draft of the study in the spring of 1939. He then revised it carefully and published his report in April 1940.²⁰ He based his work upon the proposition that differences in socio-economic status are readily observed by all who study human social behavior, and that it is an accepted fact that these differences affect all members of the family, especially the children. He assumed also that the individual's conception of his social role is definitely conditioned by his home background, and that this is a fundamental premise upon which modern social psychology, child guidance, and sociology are predicated. By definition, socio-economic status contains four major components, cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in the group activities of the community. The purpose of his scale is, therefore, to measure these factors by a rather extensive and diverse group of material and nonmaterial items. The study conceives of cultural possessions as including nonmaterial cultural practices and accomplishments as well as material cultural equipment. Effective income is interpreted as the actual money spent for living in terms of "Ammains," exclusive of farm business expenses. Material possessions include housing, home conveniences, and equipment items. Participation in group activities is represented by participation of the husband and wife in organized social groups.

Sewell's scale is a multiple factor index. That is, it is based on several indicators rather than upon a single factor. In this respect it differs significantly from the majority of the scales which preceded it. He began with 123 items for comparison, but set up a standard requiring

¹⁹ See F. Stuart Chapin, "A Quantitative Scale for Rating the Home and Social Environment of Middle Class Families in an Urban Community," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 19, pp. 99-111, 1928; "The Measurement of Sociability and Socio-Economic Status," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 12, pp. 208-217, 1928; "A Home Rating Scale to Check Social Workers' Opinions," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 14, pp. 10-16, 1929; "Scale Rating for Living Room Equipment," *Institute of Child Welfare*, Circular No. 3, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1930; "Socio-Economic Status: Some Preliminary Results of Measurements," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37, pp. 581-587, 1932; and *The Measurement of Social Status*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933; Alice M. Leahy, *The Measurement of Urban Home Environment*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

²⁰ See William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Tech. Bull. No. 9, 1940, 88 pp.; "A Scale for the Measurement of Farm Family Socio-Economic Status," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 21, 1940, pp. 125-137.

that each item retained for the scale should possess critical ratios of two or greater for each of the four possible quartile comparisons, both alternate-response and graduated items being required to meet this standard. By applying the standard, 82 items were culled out. Then five other items were dropped for practical reasons. This left 36 items possessing sharp diagnostic capacity for the scale, and of these 15 were from the original group of 34 items chosen to represent the material possessions component of socio-economic status, and 13 were from the group of 37 items chosen to represent the cultural possessions component in the experimental schedule. The remaining eight items were from the group chosen to represent social participation.

The value of this scale promises to be great because, when thoroughly standardized, it should reduce immensely the amount of work necessary to determine the socio-economic status of families. In other words, if the scale succeeds in reducing the essential traits of a family which must be known to determine its socio-economic status to 36, for example, and if it is successful in determining just what the traits are which must be known, its usefulness will have been proved. The big problem in studies of farm family living has long been that we have had no guide markers to tell us where we are going or what we have when we get there. Another problem of practical importance is the huge expense of making these studies. If Sewell's study can offer aid on these two points, it will prove to be a revolutionary advance in social research.

In conclusion, it may be said that refined technics for analyzing family living are only in their infancy. Even the concepts are vague and ill-defined. The data which are used are available only in parcels and chunks which have to be treated and salvaged considerably before they are amenable to any type of measurement or analysis. Present methods of study are not only clumsy but are also highly costly in time and money. Moreover, no methodology has yet been devised which is capable of measuring the deeper psychological valuations existing in the human mind which determine individual choices in the disposal of the spendable income. What determines whether, for example, a family will elect to buy a young brood sow or a new set of chinaware for the dining table? Some families have both of these things. Some have neither. Why? To answer satisfactorily such problems as these is one of the main tasks of family living studies. Still, it is obvious that to answer those questions competently, an increasing emphasis must be placed upon technics of study. Occasionally, it is desirable to take inventory of the working tools we have available. That has been the chief motive for the writing of this paper.

Some Sociological Aspects of Consumers' Cooperation*

By Leonard C. Kercher†

ABSTRACT

This study of the Finnish-initiated consumers' cooperative movement in the North Central states demonstrates that a nexus of sociological factors conditions the successful initiation, development and functioning of cooperative enterprise. These factors represent several major areas of sociological interest: regional economic and ecological organization, population migration and settlement, cultural heritage and change, social aspects of personality, group organization and interaction, community structure, and institutional organization and functioning. Since every cooperative situation is in some respects unique, conclusions or generalizations drawn from the study of one cooperative situation must, of course, be applied with understanding and insight to another.

Around thirty-five years ago Finnish immigrants in the Upper Lake region of the North Central states initiated a cooperative movement that has become the strongest and most unified distinctly Rochdale consumers' movement in this country. It is today a mixed rural-urban development of about 110 local distributive societies scattered mainly over northeastern Minnesota, northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan. It has around 40,000 individual members, about 75 per cent of whom are engaged in farming. The local societies are organized into district and regional federations, the most important of which is the Central Co-operative Wholesale, a regional business and general purpose organization located at Superior, Wisconsin. A study of this Finnish-initiated consumers' cooperative movement brought into relief certain factors that appear to have special significance in the successful initiation, development and operation of cooperative enterprise. The more im-

* For the original documented study upon which this article is based see Leonard C. Kercher, "The Finnish-Dominated Consumers' Cooperative Movement in the North Central States" (University of Michigan doctoral dissertation, 1939). All essential material from this study, however, will be found in Leonard C. Kercher, Vant W. Kebker and Wilfred C. Leland, *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941). By permission of the publishers the author has quoted freely from his contributions to this published work. This work is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of *Rural Sociology*.

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portant of these factors that are more distinctly sociological in character are briefly reviewed in this article.¹

An adequate explanation of the genesis and development of a co-operative enterprise or movement calls for an understanding of the total situation that influenced the goals and activities of the group or groups that sponsored it. In the movement under study this involved not only a knowledge of the environment of the Upper Lake region but also an understanding of the character of the Finnish immigrants and their problems of settlement.

Nature provided the Upper Lake region with two basic resources of modern civilization—forests and mineral deposits—but also provided it with climatic conditions and a soil formation unsuitable for agriculture. Within the last three-quarters of a century this region has experienced three forms of economic exploitation centering around the occupational activities of mining, lumbering and farming. The economic patterns of the region, therefore, are those of a highly specialized and exploitative regional economy that tends toward marked instability and exhaustion in an area where recourse to agriculture is difficult.²

The specialized industries of lumbering and mining acted as powerful occupational magnets drawing varied nationalities to the area and selecting them with respect to sex and age. A disproportionate number of men of the younger age levels from sixteen to thirty-five were attracted.³ This selective pulling of a diverse foreign-born population fostered a social situation in the region that encouraged segregation and unusual solidarity among some groups, led to social conflict between others and heightened Old World influence among them all. The typical ecological patterns of distribution of rural population are sparse settlement over large areas or relatively concentrated settlement near towns and villages by roughly segregated, homogeneous groups. In a large part of the area the population in 1930 averaged five persons or less per square mile. In only two counties in the Lake Superior district did

¹ The more technical problems of business administration and management, while fully covered in the original study, are omitted from consideration in this article because of the limitations of space and because these factors are less distinctly sociological in character.

² For a detailed discussion of the changing economy of the region see Carter Goodrich, Bushrod W. Allin *et al.*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), pp. 164-201.

³ Population data for a fairly typical portion of this area will be found in R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota*, University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 327 (Minneapolis, 1937), pp. 14-83.

it average over ten. On the other hand numerous Little Finlands, Little Swedens, Little Polands and other nationality settlements, characterized by habits, customs, traditions, languages, organizations and institutions peculiar to their native land, are found throughout the area.

Following 1899, when Russia began a period of political oppression in Finland, Finnish immigration into this country increased 400 per cent and continued to average about 14,000 annually until 1914 when it tapered off rapidly. A heavy concentration of foreign-born Finns in the Upper Lake region, particularly in Michigan and Minnesota, is indicated in the census reports from 1900 to 1930. Considering the four census reports together, an average of about 46 per cent of the foreign-born Finns in the United States were located in the three states of the Upper Lake region, with about 42 per cent in Michigan and Minnesota alone. A large proportion of these immigrants were, moreover, concentrated in a few counties in the Lake Superior district.⁴ The numerical strength and compactness of settlement of the Finnish immigrants in this area resulted in their having sufficient social and economic strength to perpetuate some of their own institutions, among them being consumers' cooperation.

By inclination and experience immigrant Finns were mainly peasant farm workers who came to the New World in the hope of settling on small farms of their own.⁵ But generally they were poor and had to turn to whatever work there was at hand to earn the necessary funds. In the three major economic exploitations of the region they, therefore, usually played the role of common laborers; either miners or lumberjacks first, and then later, farmers. For their work in the mines and logging camps they received very moderate and uncertain wages. The low and variable incomes, as well as unfavorable working conditions, were sources of much unrest among these Finnish workers and

⁴ In 1910 about 71 per cent of the foreign-born Finns in Michigan were located in four mining counties in the Upper Peninsula—Houghton, Marquette, Gogebic and Iron. In Minnesota about 75 per cent of the immigrant Finns were concentrated in three counties around Duluth—St. Louis, Carlton and Itasca. About 60 per cent were in St. Louis County alone. Although tendencies toward dispersion were indicated, concentration was still marked in 1930 when the four counties in Michigan had 52 per cent as compared to 71 per cent in 1910, and the three counties in Minnesota had 73 per cent as compared to 75 for the earlier census.

⁵ Van Cleef points out that an average of 85 per cent of the total emigration from Finland between 1901 and 1920 was from the poorer rural districts, of which 75 to 90 per cent eventually came to this country. See Eugene Van Cleef, *Finland, the Republic Farthest North* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1929), pp. 190 ff. Also see John Wargelin, *The Americanization of the Finns* (Hancock, Michigan: The Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1927).

were among the principal reasons why they took a leading part in the major labor strikes in the area.⁶

In line with their original aspirations many Finns as soon as possible developed part-time farming activities. But, before they had accumulated adequate resources large numbers of them were forced to turn to full-time farming for a livelihood after being permanently displaced from mining or lumbering occupations. As pioneer farmers they struggled ceaselessly against unfavorable conditions of climate and soil on the one hand, and against exploitative conditions in the local markets on the other.⁷ High monopolistic prices charged by local merchants is one of the most frequently repeated reasons given by the members for starting their local consumers' cooperative.

In addition to economic handicaps these early Finns also experienced insecurity with respect to group and individual status and achievement. They unwillingly occupied the most menial of positions in the economy and found advancement extremely difficult.⁸ The language barrier, as well as other cultural or occupational differences, served to discourage genuine social relations with other groups in the community. Individual Finns found it next to impossible to achieve in relation to the whole community one of the deepest needs of personality—a sense of belonging. From the beginning they were thrown back upon their own nationality group in order to realize individual and collective goals. They have consequently evidenced a marked tendency to be clannish and to keep intact their social and cultural heritage in the New World.⁹

⁶ A revealing summary discussion of the social insecurities and group conflicts accompanying cultural change in the Mesabi Range area will be found in Paul H. Landis, *Three Iron-Mining Towns* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1938), pp. 18-148. For special reference to the Finns see pp. 16-17, 24, 50, 110.

⁷ For a revealing discussion of the region see Goodrich, Allin *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-201; W. A. Hartman and J. D. Black, *Economic Aspects of Land Settlement in the Cutover Region of the Great Lakes States*, U. S. Department of Agriculture Circular No. 160 (Washington, 1931).

⁸ In interviewing many older Finnish cooperators, especially the leaders, the author received the unmistakable impression that frustration in the attainment of group recognition and personal self-realization was an important factor in the total situation out of which consumers' cooperation arose.

⁹ The strong tendency to cling to their native tongue is an evidence of their solidarity. The author often found it necessary to have a younger interpreter while interviewing older Finnish co-operators, many of whom had lived in this country from thirty to forty years. According to the 1930 census the Finnish group had the largest percentage unable to speak English of any foreign-born group in Michigan or Minnesota. In Michigan the percentage was 18.7 as compared to 15.1 for the Poles, 13.3 for the Armenians and 12.5 for the Italians, who ranked next in order. In Minnesota the percentage for the Finns was 15.3 as compared to the next three highest percentages of 10.5 for the Czechs, 8.0 for the Italians and 7.2 for the Yugoslavs. See *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population*, Vol. II (Washington, 1933), Table 14, pp. 1369-70.

This social isolation and strong primary group unity made more possible the group-wise attainment of desired goals.

Virtually all of the Finnish immigrants who initiated the cooperative movement under study, came to the Upper Lake region between 1900 and 1910 as young men who had little if any direct experience with cooperation in their native country. They brought with them, however, a workingman's culture including a liberal social philosophy which had been molded by a half century of struggle on the part of Finnish-speaking lower classes to attain national unity and economic security. Various interrelated associations and institutions of this cultural heritage were transplanted and adapted here as group-wise techniques for attaining such basic satisfactions as fellowship, recognition, security, intellectual growth and recreation. These included temperance societies, workers' educational associations, trade unionism, socialism and the Finnish church. In one way or another, each of these social instruments contributed to the development of consumers' cooperation. The temperance societies and workers' associations served as propaganda agencies as well as excellent training schools in the art of democratic discussion. The socialist movement among the Finns, in particular, exerted a tremendous influence. It diffused a liberal ideology of working class welfare and urged the development of cooperatives as a phase of an aggressive labor movement. It supplied much of the early leadership in the cooperatives. Moreover, the Finnish socialist clubs, supported by the Finnish socialist press, played a major role in publicizing the Old World cooperative movement and the principles underlying it among Finnish workers in the area. This oft-repeated story of Rochdale cooperation in Finland and England acted as a potent stimulus to the development of cooperatives among these workers and also provided the basic principles underlying their organization.

The movement under study clearly had its roots in American soil in that it was an adjustment response to conditions in the Upper Lake region. On the other hand, it also had nourishing roots in the Old World since its sponsors shared and profited by the experience of co-operators abroad. In brief summary, the following factors in the total situation out of which the Finnish-initiated cooperative movement developed stand out in relief.

1. The geographical, economic and ecological situations were characterized by limited resources, a specialized, unstable economy, and a selective migration and settlement of diverse foreign-born peoples

that tended to encourage social cohesion and self-sufficiency within homogeneous groups while producing social distance and conflict in intergroup relations as well as insecurity and frustration in the lives of individuals.

2. The large number of Finnish immigrants concentrated in the region were forced into unfamiliar and undesired occupations. Changes in the economy of the region increased the occupational hazards and produced as well much group and individual insecurity.

3. The social situation among Finnish immigrants made it virtually impossible earlier for individual satisfactions to be obtained except through close adherence to their own nationality group. This put a premium upon group isolation, group solidarity and the techniques of group-wise adjustment.

4. Finnish immigrants brought to America a workingman's culture that included a liberal social philosophy and a group of related associations and institutions which fostered socialism in politics, trade unionism in production and eventually consumers' cooperation in consumption.

Variable conditions in different cooperatives influence the success of the enterprises. Space is too limited here, however, to deal with these individual situations. As an alternative the author proposes to appraise the present elements of strength and of weakness in the movement as a whole.

A vital and enduring need.—It is virtually a sociological axiom that a vital and enduring need for it, is a basic element of strength in any social institution. The geographical and occupational circumstances that in the past gave rise to the severe handicaps of urban and agricultural workers in the region remain, with no prospects of significant permanent improvement in the near future. It is likely, therefore, that economic need will continue to provide a strong incentive to cooperative development in the area.¹⁰

¹⁰ Of course, drastic economic restrictions may have serious consequences for a cooperative as for any other business enterprise. The most serious threat of this nature occurs in those communities in the area where significant numbers of the population are stranded, or likely to be stranded, because of declines in the lumbering, mining or wood-working industries. Of this problem a recent government survey declared: "The stranded communities of the copper mine, timber and wood-working areas are separate problems. It will be to the interest of this group, and of society in general, to assist them either to leave the area or to locate on land suitable for farming." See P. E. Beck and M. C. Foster, *Six Rural Problem Areas—Relief, Resources, Rehabilitation*, Federal Emergency Relief Administration Monograph No. 1 (Washington, 1935), pp. 98–100. With 75 per cent of their combined membership farmers, the cooperatives seem to be grounded on restricted but nevertheless the most secure, long-time economic foundations of the region.

The circumstances underlying the felt needs for recognition and self-realization are, however, in gradual transition. Formerly these needs were intensified by the social isolation and the inferior occupational status of the Finnish immigrant group. The Finn is now becoming more of a participating member of the community as a whole. Here in a larger social setting he will find individual sources of recognition and expression that were denied him in former days. This may reduce the feeling of need for group solidarity and for group-wise attainment of goals through cooperative effort.

Community setting.—It has been in the intimate neighborly social setting of the hamlet, village or small town community that the co-operatives in this movement have, as a rule, had their firmest roots. Here occupational and other class differences are minor, and as a consequence economic wants are sufficiently commonplace and uniform to be served by a relatively simple institutional structure. Furthermore the face-to-face contacts of everyday life provide the ideal social experience for the development of common understanding and the formation of attitudes of group solidarity so essential to voluntary cooperative effort. In antithesis, the typical city situation has not proven congenial to the growth of strong cooperatives in the movement. The social groupings and the cultural standards of the city are more heterogeneous, individual interests and wants are more diversified and social contacts are more secondary and impersonal. Cooperators nurtured in such a situation are likely to feel no deep need for cooperative enterprise, nor do they form a conscious consumers' group equipped with common understanding, attitudes and habits necessary for the pursuit of long-time objectives of consumers' cooperation. Experience seems to show that if the movement is to expand into larger urban centers it must adopt the most improved merchandising methods and develop effective techniques of organizing city consumers.

In-group solidarity and democratic organization and control.—An outstanding element of strength in the movement has been the unusual solidarity of the cooperative group, based largely on its social and cultural homogeneity. As noted later, the growth of a more diversified membership and the consequent weakening of the earlier cultural ties must be counteracted by a more effective educational and merchandising program.

An aspect of internal solidarity which is of growing importance concerns the harmonizing of the producer and the consumer interests of the members. The main element of strength to be observed in the situation is that through a process of democratic discussion a basis of

voluntary cooperation between these two diverging interests has been evolved, whereby adjustment of prices, standardization of quality and allocation of earnings can be achieved with greater justice and satisfaction to both.

The Finns built their cooperative structure in the most orthodox Rochdale fashion—from the bottom up. By erecting their cooperatives on a foundation of local interest, local ownership and local control, Finnish cooperators strongly believed that they could obtain the understanding, the sense of responsibility and the loyalty of the membership necessary for an enduring movement. The growth of federation, both regional and district, has remained democratic and flexible. On the commercial side, and more recently on the service side as well, it is centered in the Central Cooperative Wholesale. This regional federation has coordinated the business strength of the local societies, developed expert regional leadership and forged technical and economic weapons to fight growing competition. In addition its educational department is a major factor in diffusing cooperative sentiment throughout the area and in fostering social solidarity in the movement. Nothing would seem so likely to reduce the movement to the status of local shopkeeping as the neglect or abuse of its federated regional strength.

Outside support.—Its early tie-up with the Finnish liberal labor movement made the cooperative movement sectarian. To a certain extent this resulted both in internal conflict and in outside antagonisms. During the early years, the cooperative movement to the politically conservative, represented radical socialist intrigue; to nationalistic elements it was a Finnish monopoly; to the religious-minded it was chiefly the work of atheists; and to the middle class consumer it was merely a common laborer's store.

The bitter factional struggle for control in the late twenties liquidated the influence of the radical socialist in the movement, strongly reaffirmed the Rochdale principles of open membership and democratic control and fostered an independent philosophy of cooperation. This transition has largely removed the sectarian barriers to expansion, and, together with the general liberal reaction which swept the country this past decade, has led to an increasing support of cooperatives by non-Finnish people and by certain elements in powerful American institutions.

The growing number of church people among the cooperatives' members and patrons, and the increasingly sympathetic attitude of many ministers in the area are indications of growing church support locally.

The public schools have manifested a growing interest in the study of cooperation in all its phases. Under the pressure of public opinion legislative action has been taken in the states of Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota leading to the inclusion of "Cooperation" as a definite subject in the school curriculum. During the past eight years, several officials and agencies of the federal government, from the President down, have given effective support to the cooperative idea. The governors of some states, particularly those of Wisconsin and Minnesota, have openly fostered it. What support or opposition from these sources may be forthcoming in the future is hard to judge. There is a hostile press and, of course, there are unfriendly political, religious, educational and business leaders.

Loyal and informed adherents.—No institution or movement can grow, or in the long run survive, that does not produce successive generations of loyal and informed adherents, both leaders and followers. This movement has a special problem of this nature in the transition of its controlling leadership from the older Finnish immigrant generation to the younger Finnish and non-Finnish generation. The older leaders and a large proportion of their followers have been extremely loyal and have possessed a deep understanding of cooperative principles and a religious-like determination to put them into practice. Whether or not the movement can replace these leaders and followers with others of the oncoming generations who have a sufficient amount of understanding, loyalty and determination to insure its perpetuation, is a major problem.¹¹ It is, in part, a critical test of the whole educational and promotional nexus developed by the movement or allied to it.

The educational activity of the movement, designed both to develop cooperative sentiment and train personnel, has been greatly accelerated in the past four years. A variety of agencies and techniques, suited to a many-sided approach to the problem have been developed. As yet, however, only scattered and intangible evidence of the success of this educational program in meeting the problem is available.

Loyal and competent personnel.—The ability to attract a loyal and com-

¹¹ An outstanding local manager in the movement, Lauri Passi, put the problem succinctly when he said: "If we were as weak today financially as we were in the early days of the socialist influence we would be readily wiped out. But by making more money and paying more rebates we can hold the loyalty of many. We must gain in business efficiency, in financial strength and in service to offset a waning cultural loyalty. However, I believe that to cooperate merely for business purposes is too narrow and shaky a foundation. Higher aims are necessary. The goal of a better social order is essential. Today we are confronting this important question of whether or not the younger generation can grasp this higher aim and feel its significance."

petent personnel is a vital element of strength in this as in other co-operative movements. In general the movement has not lacked for loyal employees, but due to increasing competition it has a perennial need for better trained ones. The organized employee-training program, which is now primarily a responsibility of the Central Co-operative Wholesale, includes at present regional and district managers' meetings, resident employee training schools, and since 1938, circuit employee training schools for employees in service. These are functioning with considerable success.

Wage scales, hour schedules, opportunities for promotion and general economic security are normally factors that greatly influence the ordinary individual in his choice of an occupation and in the quality of his performance in it. In their religious-like zeal to further cooperation, the immigrant generation of employees tended to minimize these factors, but the younger generation is inclined to be much more strongly influenced by them. Indications are that several of the cooperatives, in order to attract and hold desirable personnel in the future, will find it necessary to make more favorable adjustments in these working conditions. Particularly, greater remuneration for responsible administrative positions seems indicated. While there is a need for the working out of well-reasoned policies of consumer-employee relationships, a strengthening element in the labor situation, if handled properly, is that the consumer-employee relationships in the movement as a whole seem favorable for progressive adjustments of all potential differences.

Ideological and philosophical foundations.—An important element of strength in the movement is to be found in its deeply ingrained ideological and philosophical foundations. It is guided by sound consumers' cooperative principles, is supported by a liberal social philosophy and is rooted in realistic needs of human nature and society.

While it is true that Finnish socialist influence distorted for a time the principles of open membership and democratic control in the movement, these and other Rochdale principles have provided a reliable basis for the organization and functioning of the cooperatives from the beginning.

Although retaining the labor sympathies and strong liberal emphasis of its origin, in recent years consumers' cooperation has emerged more clearly in cooperators' minds as a transforming social movement in its own right. Although to most cooperators this philosophy is vague in its details, it nevertheless exists as a compelling general idea and as a

persistent inspiration to many. It adds strength to the movement by transforming it from a mere program of collective shopkeeping to something of a social crusade.

The men and women who sponsored the Finnish-initiated cooperative movement were well acquainted with physical hardship, economic exploitation, poverty, social isolation and personal frustration. In developing cooperatives they were not hazy sentimentalists toying with an intriguing idea of a social utopia, but were hard-pressed working people who desperately sought an effective social instrument to aid them in a struggle against economic and social handicaps. The claims of individual self-realization, therefore, underlie the movement and provide it with realistic support in basic human needs and values. The pursuit of personal realization, however, has not been narrowly self-seeking or socially destructive. On the contrary, through the cooperative process the individual's interest has been best served by promoting the common good. The movement has gained strength from the realistic character and fundamental harmony of its individual and social purposes.

Conclusion.—The object of the study upon which this article is based was to understand from a sociological point of view a significant adventure in consumers' cooperation in the United States. An effort was made to observe and analyze first hand the actual cooperative experiences of specific human groups in a concrete social and cultural setting. The results clearly indicate that a nexus of sociological factors conditions the genesis, development and functioning of the cooperatives in question. These factors represent several major areas of sociological interest—regional economic and ecological organization, population migration and settlement, cultural heritage and change, social aspects of personality, group organization and interaction, community structure, and institutional organization and functioning.

In general the elements of weakness in the Finnish-initiated consumers' cooperative movement in the North Central states spring from the uncertainties of its incomplete adaptation to the American community. It is still somewhat of a marginal institution with receding roots in a Finnish workingmen's culture on the one hand and with increasing social, psychological and cultural foundations in the American community on the other.

The principal elements of strength in the institution, on the other hand, lie partly in the successful adaptations that it has already made to

the American scene, but even more in the sound ideological foundations and well-intrenched democratic techniques that make continued transition possible.

There is evidently a close interrelation of the main features of a specific cooperative enterprise or movement with the geographical setting, the historical background and principal socio-economic and cultural patterns of the cooperating group. For this reason conclusions and generalizations drawn from a study of one specific cooperative situation must be applied to others with understanding and insight.

Rural Youth and the Government's Recreation Program

By Arnold W. Green*

ABSTRACT

Of all segments in our population, rural youth perhaps stands most in need of the facilities and organization of the WPA Division of Recreation. But because of a confusion of ends, and the way the machinery of the Division was set up, it has had to concentrate its efforts in urban districts. A number of weaknesses inherent in the Division's program are described, and these are concretized by the inclusion of a personal-experience document secured from a Division worker.

It is suggested that the Division should cease functioning primarily to afford work-relief for the white-collar unemployed, and that the goal of an integrated, long-term program of recreation for rural youth should be substituted. Suggestions are offered as means toward the attainment of this goal.

I

The partial breakdown of the rural-familistic system has had a dramatic effect on group-participation in rural districts. Formerly, recreation was a phase of mutual aid, comprising, in large part, such activities as quilting-bees, housewarmings, and barn-raisings. Today, with the progressive individualization of American life, these are all on the wane.

While losing the organic solidarity characteristic of rural-familism, rural districts have not specialized their social organizations nearly so much as have urban districts. This is particularly true of recreation.¹ Most rural districts have neither the money, facilities, nor the necessary attitudes to make recreation a separate, distinct area of community life.

More than any other segment of the rural population, the resulting *impasse* has thwarted rural youth in their search for recreation. For a complex of reasons, the few organizations present in rural districts cater

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¹ On the effect of present-day disruptive changes in rural life for rural recreation, Steiner says: "The first is that the influence of the city on rural recreation so far is more evident in the disappearance of traditional rural amusements than in the appearance of distinctly urban amusements. The second is that the most important urban influences on rural recreation have been those of a non-recreational character." (J. F. Steiner, *Americans At Play*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 164.)

to older people rather than to youth.² Blocked, they renounce effort toward building group-participation within their age-class, and instead yearn for individualistic amusements.³

We can turn to population statistics to further justify singling out rural youth for special consideration: "About 1940 the United States entered a half-decade when the number of youth, 16 to 24 years of age, in the population will be at the maximum, about 22,000,000 in all. Nearly half of these dwell in rural areas."⁴ Further, our rural population possesses more than half the nation's children under fifteen years of age. And, if it is recalled that in 1930 the total rural population was producing more than one and one-half times the number of children needed to replace itself at the level of that year (native whites), then it is at once apparent that in our rural districts dwell most of the future fathers and mothers of the United States.

On the basis of the facts presented, one should expect rural youth to be receiving the marked attention of the Recreation Division of the Works Progress Administration. But they are not. Instead, the efforts of the Division are being concentrated in the cities, *which already have the vast preponderance of privately owned and municipally managed recreational facilities in the nation*. From a frequency table in one of the Division's own surveys,⁵ we learn that while only 4.4% of all communities in the

² "In many sections of the country youth are passing into maturity after having had little influence exerted upon them by the regularly established institutions and organizations of rural life. . . . There seems to be a decided drop in the participation of youth in social and recreational activities when their school careers close." Melvin and Smith, *Rural Youth: Their Situation And Prospects*, Research Monograph 15, WPA Division of Social Research, 1938, p. 79.

Young people are not joining fraternal organizations in rural districts. See John H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner's *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940, p. 566. ". . . youth are not interested in some organizations because their programs are too readymade or standardized, too much dominated by older persons." (*Ibid.*, p. 287.) Both the above studies report a declining influence of the Church, along with a declining influence of most other formal organizations on rural youth.

And from the Maryland Youth Study: ". . . three out of every four youth (74.5 per cent) did not belong to any organization whatever. The lowest degree of club membership was found among youth living on farms." (Howard Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1938, pp. 168-169.)

³ In the Maryland Youth Study, the farm youth were asked the one type of activity in which each youth spent most of his leisure time during the year preceding the interview. Only 7.7% of the male whites answered 'team games'; only 1.3% of the female whites. (*Ibid.*, p. 164.) Upon being asked what recreational facilities they thought their community needed most, almost as many farm youth replied 'movies' as 'community centers', whereas twice as many city youths replied the latter as the former.

⁴ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁵ The table referred to is on page sixteen of *Community Recreation Programs, A Study of WPA Recreation Projects*, Washington, D. C., February, 1940. In the text of the study is a statement that these figures give a somewhat exaggerated picture since many projects in rural districts were county-wide

United States with a population less than 2,500 have WPA Recreation Projects; 28.1% of those communities with a 2,500-24,999 population are so serviced; 77.6% of those with a population of 25,000-99,999; 92.5% of those with a population of 100,000 and over.

It would be grossly unfair to attribute this rural-urban differential to deliberate machination on the part of the Project directors. Rather, the reasons are to be found in the way the machinery of the Project was set up, which had unforeseen consequences.

In the first place, it was planned from the start that no local project would be established except with the active aid and participation of some local agency, such as the school board, which must first make application for the project! It is at once apparent that rural districts, with a modicum of specialized organizations and institutions, with populations possessing much less skill in integrating formal social institutions than those in the cities, would be discriminated against. Furthermore, organized recreation was already an indigenous culture-pattern in the cities, and the new WPA program could be fitted in easily and quickly, with a minimum of friction.

In the second place, since local personnel were required, the larger proportional and absolute numbers of white-collar relief recipients in urban than in rural districts made organizing projects in cities much easier. And this brings us to a brief consideration of WPA personnel in recreation.

The main stumbling-block to either the setting up of an effective nationwide program, or its execution, has been and remains the temporary nature of the employment offered WPA recreation workers. This lowers personnel efficiency, since the individual worker never knows when the lay-off is coming, is constantly stimulated to look for another job, and he knows that his job carries little status in the community. Also, the instituting of a smoothly functioning program is obviated. Miss Dorothy I. Cline, Training Consultant in the Division of Recreation from October, 1935, to October, 1937, in describing the principles providing the framework of the training program of the Recreational Division, said: "The program . . . must be sufficiently flexible to allow for frequent changes in procedural regulations and administrative decisions and for a high turnover in the personnel."⁶

at the time the survey was taken; also, some projects are operated in a number of different communities on a periodic schedule. ". . . in such instances recreational activities may have been conducted during the weeks preceding or following the survey period in other communities that were not included in the survey." (p. 17.)

⁶ Dorothy I. Cline, *Training for Recreation*, 1939, p. 27.

The requirement that a person be eligible for relief before receiving a job in the Recreation Division has set up a negative selective standard. From August 22, 1935, to April 15, 1937, the WPA regulations provided that ten per cent of the workers on recreation projects might be non-relief workers, and these were assigned supervisory and administrative posts. The training program for personnel then organized was virtually demolished by an order of April 15, 1937, which provided that ninety-five per cent of the employees in the Recreation Division must be certified as eligible for relief. As of February 18, 1939, this proportion still held for the nation as a whole.⁷

As if this negative selective standard were not enough, the Division has been subjected to wide fluctuations in numbers of personnel, the explanation for which must clearly be sought elsewhere than in terms of changing community needs for recreation: in January of 1936 there were 29,244 persons employed on WPA recreation projects throughout the country; on December 31 of the same year this total had risen to 44,645; in November of 1937 it had dropped to 26,707; but, as of August 28, 1940, it had again risen, to a total of 36,994.⁸

The haste with which the program was set up, with the inevitable accompaniment of formalism and confusion of method, also weakened it. Many administrators were ill-trained⁹ and attempted to fit the community into a set scheme they had already erected.¹⁰ There was a deplorable lack of specialization, the average recreational worker, in rural districts at least, being expected to be expert in everything from football to dramatics.¹¹ Then, as yet, many administrative officials were used as trainers for the new personnel, with questionable results, it having not been proven that accomplishment in one field is readily transmissible to another.

⁷ *Community Recreation Programs*, p. 53.

⁸ Communication of November 9, 1940, WPA, Washington, D. C.

⁹ As of March 22, 1939, only 3.1% of the total employed in WPA recreation in the nation were listed as 'professional and technical'. (*Community Recreation Programs*, p. 44.)

"The Recreation Division of the WPA has employed at various times from twenty to fifty thousand persons as recreation leaders. Both figures are ambiguous and erroneous. The number of individuals in this country who are equipped either through formal training or acquired experience to function as thoroughgoing and competent leaders is extremely small." (E. C. Lindeman, *Leisure—A National Issue*, New York, Association Press, 1939, p. 46.)

¹⁰ When cooperative relationships are organized from the 'bottom up' they are more likely to become permanent, and this is especially true regarding rural people, with their relatively greater suspicion of centralized authority. (See Lowry Nelson, "National Politics And Rural Social Organization," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 73-89.)

¹¹ "In a small community the WPA leader was called upon to be teacher, craftsman, planner, groundskeeper, luncheon-club speaker, referee, and all-around play leader. In the large cities, his functions tended to become specialized." (D. Cline, *op. cit.*, p. 11.)

We have been discussing the ills that have afflicted the recreational program as a whole. A major disappointment to Division workers in rural districts has been the but half-hearted cooperation they have been receiving from Agricultural Extension.¹² Such cooperation has been earnestly sought by WPA Recreation, and where it has been secured, positive results ensued.¹³ But cooperation between WPA Recreation and Agricultural Extension has remained on a tentative, local basis. They have not worked out a joint, nationally unified program.

This lack of cooperation between WPA Recreation and Agricultural Extension is symptomatic of a lack of integration of effort among the various federal and local agencies dealing separately with some of the problems of recreation. In our type of civilization, integration of effort would appear to be a prime necessity, and this is certainly true of organized recreation.¹⁴

A good start was made in the direction of integrated effort on a national scale. A sub-committee was set up under the auspices of the President's Committee on Governmental Co-ordination, to work on the problem of recreation, and this included eleven different bureaus, all of which separately had been dealing with recreation problems. Unfortunately, this sub-committee is no longer functioning.¹⁵

Perhaps there are some clues as to the reasons for this sub-committee's early demise. While the Recreation Division of the Works Progress Administration could work easily and effectively with such agencies as the United States Housing Authority,¹⁶ as has been seen the Division finds it difficult to work with the Extension Service, and it would appear virtually impossible for the Division to work with such agencies as the

¹² "In general, where mutual assistance has not been rendered it has been due to the fact that for the emergency workers, people on relief have had to be put to work quickly, while the extension organizations of the states have had their programs well worked out." (Bruce L. Melvin, "Rural Emergency Recreation And Future Rural Social Planning," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 1, 1936, p. 218.)

¹³ "In so far as these programs were geared to local agencies such as community clubs, 4-H clubs, and other strictly indigenous institutions, there is small question that they have had a rejuvenating effect which in large measure will prove residual." (Lowry Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 83.)

"... the cooperation of the 4-H Club authorities ... was one of the factors which enabled the rapid extension of the CWA recreation program into the rural areas of Minnesota." Robert W. Murchie, *Minnesota State-Wide Recreational Program*, University of Minnesota, 1934, p. 26.

¹⁴ "... rural organizations tend to be general organizations with a multiplicity of functions, recreation in particular being combined with other more serious objectives ... rural organizations of the past have usually been of local and spontaneous origin, while modern urban organizations depend to a much greater degree upon the initiative and leadership of the federation headquarters. In all ... of these respects, rural organizations are tending toward the urban pattern." (Steiner, *Americans At Play*, p. 158.)

¹⁵ Communication of November 9, 1940, WPA, Washington, D. C.

¹⁶ See *Housing And Recreation*, USHA, November, 1939.

Tennessee Valley Authority and the National Park Service because of a wide divergence of ends.¹⁷ Before any integration of effort between the various governmental agencies were possible, it would first be necessary for them to integrate their ends and goals.

II

The following is a document secured from a WPA Recreation Project worker in a rural district. The author can vouch for the validity of his experiences as here expressed. The italics are those of the author.

The warning must be sounded that these experiences are in no way to be regarded as typical of the problems of the recreational worker vs. the community in rural America, nor even of the region in which the experiences occurred. In fact, it is meant to illustrate how unique those problems can be:

A recreational project was set up for the Town of Chatham, which comprises four villages of approximately 3,000 each. Eight persons were allotted from the Town to the project, two women and six men. Within three months, four of the original eight, including the local supervisor, had resigned, and six new people had been added. One of the new six resigned after one month, that is to say, five resigned within a three-month period. Not a one of these people, including those who remained, had ever had any previous experience in organized recreation.

All the workers were looking upon the project as a temporary stop-gap, as, indeed, they are supposed to. The supervisor received a teaching job. Two returned to college. One returned to his factory job which he had left during 'short-time'. And one, a young woman, married.

I was assigned to work in the Village of Reedville. The population was made up largely of immigrant and second-generation Poles, French-Canadians, and Irish. There were no recreational organizations in the Village enabling these ethnic-groups to get together. The rabid conflicts between them were projected into the playground situation. The resulting difficulty in handling the children was augmented by their lack of home-training in social participation: nothing in the children's experience had ever before been done for them by an outside agency; they neither expected it nor believed the plea that the project was meant for their own interests. They fought with each other, cursed the supervisors, stole equipment, and vandalized the Grammar School Building which was serving as the recreation center.

But it is fruitless to place all the blame either on the children or their back-

¹⁷ TVA advocates a recreational 'industry' to aid the Tennessee Valley economically. See *Recreational Development of the Southern Highlands Region*, TVA, Dept. of Regional Planning Studies, July, 1938. The Park Service is primarily interested in meeting the vacation needs of middle-class America. See 1938 Yearbook, *Park and Recreation Program*, Washington, 1939.

ground. The supervisor was frankly out to get all the publicity he could for the project. Consequently he directed the setting up of a number of activities not to the liking or interests of the children, but which were photogenic. So we had doll-parades, costume parades, pet-shows, and other events that the county news photographers could use. This sort of thing was considered effeminate by the boys, and they gleefully ripped and tore into everything in sight as soon as the photographers had left.

The supervisor thought it would be quite cute if the Polish children were taught folk-dancing, going on the assumption that folk-dancing was an indigenous culture trait. The whole affair was as puerile and silly to the immigrant Poles (to whom it was altogether something new and startling) as it was to their children, who chew gum and speak the latest radio slang.

Finally, *just prior to my leaving the project*, I was assigned to work with one of the county extension men with the local children who were in the 4-H Club, *even though I had never had any experience in farming or extension work. Further, extension had not at all been anxious to cooperate with the local project, but did so only from the importunings of the local supervisor.*

I spent four weeks going around to the children's gardens, under the direct supervision of one of the extension workers, attempting to create a cooperative spirit, and encouraging them to select vegetables for exhibition at a county field meet which was in the offing. On the day of the field meet, after the exhibits had been collected, and the children were all gathered at the appointed spot, ready for the trip they had been anticipating, the promised transportation did not appear, and the children had to return to their homes, bitterly disappointed.

Investigation disclosed that the local supervisor had failed at the last minute to arrange transportation because *he was leaving the project within the week to go to another job*, and had totally lost interest.

III

It is easy enough dispassionately to criticize the work of others when the critic is mere observer and not participant. It is almost as easy to point out how a given program of action could be improved, and especially is this true if the critic be not forced to translate his own program of action *into* action.

Granted, however, that the following criteria for improving the lot of rural youth under WPA Recreation are removed from the context of actuality, removed from forced expedience, conflict, mismanagement, and non-cooperation of the people whom the projects are supposed to aid, it is still necessary to list them, for they have to do with ends, purposes, and goals, which too often become buried under an avalanche of bureaucratic detail. The end or goal assumed here is a cessation of WPA Recreation's functioning primarily to afford work-relief for the

white-collar unemployed, and the substitution of an integrated, long-term program of recreation for rural America.¹⁸

In the first place, planning for recreation must be unhampered by gearing it to the relief program, as is still being done. It attracts inferior personnel, who have lowered status in the eyes of the people they are supposed to be leading. But worst of all, it induces little effort on the part of participants to work with the program since there is no assurance that the program constitutes a permanent fixture. This is a special hardship in rural as compared with urban districts, since, in the latter, WPA Recreation is most often a mere adjunct to a permanent municipal recreation organization, while in the former it is typically on its own, and the community is left without recreational facilities and organization when WPA Recreation leaves.

Secondly, WPA Recreation should be empowered to assume more initiative in bringing a recreation program into rural districts. Many rural districts are in a severe state of disorganization, are operating on reduced budgets, and do not have the facilities to cooperate actively with a national agency. Furthermore, local rural leadership can not always be trusted to understand and work for the recreational interests of its youth for we have already seen that rural social organizations are not caring for rural youth. The desires, wishes, and hopes of rural youth are frequently out of step with those of their elders, and nowhere is this more true than in the field of recreation.

Thirdly, each local community presents its own unique and peculiar problems.¹⁹ The necessity for thorough-going community-studies before local programs were devised was early realized by the Recreational Division, but their early attempts failed.²⁰ Thorough-going sociological surveys, by experienced personnel, should delineate the

¹⁸ When the sociologist places an evaluation on a proposed end of social action, he has left the realm of science, since the matter of desirability of an end or goal can not be proven (except pseudo-scientifically, in the 'logic of the sentiments'). To remain within the realm of science, he accepts an end as given, and demonstrates the means by which it can be secured. If that given end, or assumption, is challenged however, then the argument, or listing of means to secure the end, becomes inapplicable.

¹⁹ Contrast, for example, the community described in Part II of this paper with Howell, Michigan (See C. R. Hoffer, "Co-operation As A Culture Pattern Within A Community," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 1, 1936, pp. 153-158). Howell has a long tradition of community-wide cooperation. The population is predominately native-white, and the cultural characteristics of this group tend to prevail.

²⁰ Recreational personnel were given simplified methods for using case-study techniques in their various communities: "It became clear as reports reached state and Washington offices that the workers were unfamiliar with, or were not using, reliable methods of investigation. They did not know how to secure or evaluate data; how to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant information; when to use statistical methods; how to write a report." (D. Cline, *op. cit.*, p. 80.)

conflicts and interests of a given district before the recreational program be devised. After the program is in operation, expert research personnel could serve as advisors to the local recreation workers.

Fourthly, a coordination of all national agencies dealing with recreation should be worked for constantly. Rural people are still suspicious of recreation as a thing-in-itself, and can be counted on to cooperate more willingly if WPA Recreation is geared to the more 'useful' functions many of the other national agencies now serve.²¹ This would raise the prestige of the Recreation Division in rural districts.

Finally, national problems can not be attacked piece-meal. In this discussion it was not meant to imply that a national recreation program, channeled off from the stream of national life, could ever serve to solve even the 'recreational problems' of youth in rural America.²² It is realized that an 'integrated long-term program' requires enthusiastic cooperation from the 'bottom up'. This could be greatly facilitated by the inauguration of a training program in group participation and cooperation, with obvious results for all areas of social interaction.

²¹ See the discussion in E. deS. Brunner and I. Lorge's *Rural Trends In Depression Years*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, p. 160, ff., on the positive benefits resulting from combining recreation with NYA, Agricultural Extension, PTA, and the Future Farmers of America.

"Recreational activities are often combined with those of an educational, cultural or even vocational character; for example, the harvest festival or the community fair has its demonstrations and exhibits, as well as games and dances.

"Rural people have likewise been more interested in those types of activities which provide opportunity for participation as well as attendance. . . ." Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 556.)

²² A polar type of this 'channeling off' would comprise pandering to mere diversion, bringing a modern counterpart of the old Roman bread-and-circuses to rural youth. Occasionally, but happily not too often, various recreation agencies sound the note of defeat, advocating programs that smack suspiciously of the 'feelies' and crowd-dispersing machines of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*:

"It is important to recognize and emphasize the kind of activities which have frequently constituted a less important part of the normal community recreation program than now seems desired by those who are out of work. Quiet games, opportunity for entertainments of various kinds . . . music from the radio. . . . In other words the 'diversion' type of occupation apparently needs greater emphasis, as compared with the active participatory type." (*Recreation And Unemployment*, National Recreation Association, New York City, 1933, p. 18.) ¶

Cultural Change and the Country Weekly*

By Carl F. Reuss†

ABSTRACT

This article describes some adaptations made by the small town newspaper in Washington to the social and cultural changes occurring in the rural environment. Among these adjustments are: a stability in numbers has been reached, although at the expense of some loss of per capita circulation strength; a reduction in the number of two-newspaper towns; an increase in the size of the newspaper page; a shift from Saturday to Thursday as the second most important day of publication; a decreased interest in political parties and policies; a concentration on local news, particularly of persons and organizations. These trends suggest certain observations on the process of change and adaptation in social institutions, which by nature are slow to change: (1) adjustment to change is forced upon an institution by the inroads of competing agencies; (2) the stimulus to change comes from without, not from within the institution; and (3) changes in any one of the four elements of any institution, (a) rank and file membership, (b) leadership, (c) physical structure and equipment, and (d) pattern of attitudes lending sanction to the operation of the institution, will evoke changes and adaptations in the structure and functions of the institution.

It is commonly recognized that institutions by nature tend to be conservative, responding slowly and reluctantly to changed conditions. Yet, when forced by sufficiently compelling circumstances, they eventually adapt to changed conditions. One may inquire, what cultural changes are sufficiently drastic to cause institutions and agencies to modify their structure and functions, and in what manner do these organizations adjust to cultural change? This article is concerned with answering these questions for the country weekly newspaper in the state of Washington.¹

Numerous far reaching developments in transportation, communication, and the mechanization of agriculture, all of which vitally affected

* An abridgement of a paper presented at the spring meeting of the Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, Gearhart, Oregon, May 9-10, 1941.

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¹ Data upon which the article is based were assembled in the course of two studies of weekly newspapers in the state. The first analyzed trends in the distribution and certain publication characteristics of all weekly newspapers outside the three metropolitan centers of the state, and was published as Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 373, *Washington Country Weekly Newspapers, Their Distribution and Characteristics, 1902-1938*, April, 1939. The second analyzed the content of a representative sample of weekly papers of the state and for certain of these papers compared their content in 1937 with that of 1916. The findings are reported in *Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers*, Bul. 387, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, February, 1940. In the present article data describing the adjustment of the small town weekly newspaper to its changing rural community are drawn together from these two studies.

rural life, reached their climax in the years immediately following the first World War. The rapid pace of social and cultural change seriously affected weekly newspaper numbers. More than one-fourth of those published in Washington in 1918 no longer were published in 1921. There was a net loss of 70 papers in three years, from 250 in 1918 to 180 in 1921. A reduction in the number of locally competing weeklies, accomplished through the consolidation of competing papers, or the death of one, accounted for a portion of the decrease. In 1902 one-half of the weeklies of the state were published in towns where there was a competing weekly newspaper; in 1938 only 12 per cent were published in such towns. In 1910 there were 41 towns in the state which had two or more weekly newspapers; by 1938 the number had been reduced to 11. The trend toward a decreasing number of weeklies was halted in 1921, for since that year the number has remained comparatively stable at between 185 and 195 each year except in 1934, when there were 202.²

Population gains in the state during the century have far exceeded the increases in weekly newspaper numbers and circulation. As a result the number of persons per newspaper enterprise more than doubled, from an average of 2,300 persons in 1902 to 5,500 in 1938. Over the same period the total circulation of weekly papers decreased from an average of one copy for every 2.9 persons in 1902 to one copy for every 4.8 persons in 1938.³ These trends are probably, in some degree, a result of the process of urbanization, which reduced the population normally interested in hearing of the life reported in the small town newspaper. In some degree the trends probably reflect also a decreased interest in the weekly paper, the interest being transferred to competing agencies.

Competition from daily newspapers, which became acute with the advent of improved all-weather roads and fast, dependable motor trucks, was a factor serving for a time to reduce the weekly newspaper subscribing public. It undoubtedly was in part responsible for the great decrease in weekly newspaper circulation from 1910 to 1920, but adaptations made by the small town press in the following decade enabled it to regain a part of its earlier circulation strength by 1930. Daily news-

² This increase was caused by a decrease in publication frequency of some twice-weekly and daily newspapers, which became weeklies.

³ In 1920 there was an average of one copy per 5.2 persons. This was the largest per capita circulation figure in any of the five years studied. The total circulation of all weeklies in the state, exclusive of those in the metropolitan cities of Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane, increased from approximately 124,000 copies in 1902 to 196,000 in 1910, decreased to 161,000 in 1920, rose rapidly to 217,000 in 1930, and dropped to 213,000 in 1938.

paper competition had another effect upon the weeklies. It served to some extent to cause an increase in the size of the page of many. From 1920 to 1938 there was a steady decrease in the proportion of weekly newspapers having six columns or less per page and an increase in the proportion with seven or eight columns per page. Since most daily newspapers are standardized at eight columns per page, many a small town editor may have shifted from a six-column to a seven-column page in the belief that it gave his paper a "big-time" appearance in the eyes of his readers accustomed to the typical city daily.

Throughout the present century the majority of Washington weekly newspapers have been published on Friday. A change has occurred, however, in the second ranking day of publication. In 1902 Saturday was the second most important day and Thursday third, 25 per cent being published on Saturday and 20 per cent on Thursday. By 1938 there were almost as many papers published on Thursday as on Friday, and Saturday had all but disappeared as a day of publication for weekly papers. In this year 48 per cent appeared on Thursday and only one per cent on Saturday. The advent of the rural free delivery, together with a long established rural shopping habit, undoubtedly combined to effect this change. The explanation probably is much as follows: It has long been a habit of farmers to come into town on Saturday to do their shopping. Before rural free delivery the farmer came to his trade center on Saturday for his mail as well. Since papers were mailed to their subscribers, it was desirable for the issue to be printed on either Friday or Saturday so that it would contain the most recent news when the farmer received it on Saturday. With the advent of rural free delivery and daily delivery of mail it became desirable for the paper to reach the subscribers before Saturday in order to give them an opportunity to examine the local advertisements before doing their Saturday shopping. From the advertiser's viewpoint, therefore, Thursday became a more attractive alternate day for publication.

At some time during the present century Americans largely lost interest in politics as the great national pastime. Baseball, football, bridge, the stock market, the activities of special interest groups, or some other topic became the common denominator of interest. Likewise at some time during the present century the rabidly partisan small town newspaper died out. In 1902 seventy per cent of the weeklies of Washington proclaimed their allegiance to one or the other of the major political parties; in 1938 practically 70 per cent claimed to be *independent* of political party ties. The editorials appearing in a sample of papers in 1916 and in the same papers in 1937 clearly attest to the fundamental

character of the change. In the earlier of the two years, editorials often were written on the assumption that the political opponents could do no right, the party colleagues no wrong. Many editorials, mincing no words, obviously were written in the flush of emotion, probably in the conviction that the pen is mightier than the sword. For fellow party members and candidates the honeyed phrases and saccharine words oozed in praise from the editorial pen. Today small town newspapers have veered almost to the other extreme. Probably a majority of those now published have completely discarded the editorial column. Others treat innocuous topics in general or platitudinous terms and avoid taking a positive stand on issues of the day, either local or national. Only a bare handful retain a vigorous editorial column, and even they ordinarily pay little attention to the strict party line in their expressions. They prefer to interpret and to explain the significance of contemporary events rather than to influence political opinions.

Probably the most fundamental adaptation which the small town newspaper made in response to its changed rural community was one made in the news columns. Competition from daily newspapers with their enormously greater resources for gathering and printing state, national and international news made it impractical for the smaller weekly papers to continue furnishing their subscribers with such items. However, the dailies could devote only a few inches of space to the many happenings of interest in their hinterland towns. Its local community, obviously then, was the almost exclusive province of the small town newspaper. This is exactly the adjustment it made, concentrating its news coverage on the events taking place in its own town and its surrounding countryside. Where weeklies treat news of the larger state, national or international scene today, they usually include it in a column summarizing the important news events of the preceding week. Factual evidence illustrating the trend is found in a few pertinent figures: over the 21 years the amount of news in each issue increased by an average of 22 per cent; local news increased 63 per cent; non-local news decreased 22 per cent.

In concentrating on their local communities the weekly papers paid particular attention to featuring in some detail the activities of the local organized social and economic groups. They emphasized also the comings and goings of the individuals making up the town and country neighborhoods. The columns of personal news so readily associated with the typical country weekly are a product of the competition from daily newspapers. In neither the field of personal news nor that of the activities of local organizations could the urban daily newspaper com-

pete successfully with the local weekly newspaper. In each of these fields particularly, and in the field of local news generally, the small town paper today reigns supreme.

Such are some of the more outstanding adjustments the small town newspaper itself has made to the changing rural community. Its content also can be analyzed fruitfully as an index to basic changes in rural life, since the news columns reflect fairly faithfully the interests of the people of the community and the advertising columns the business structure and the types of products demanded in the locality.⁴ To proceed into this line of inquiry, however, is beyond the purpose of the present paper. Perhaps as the most appropriate way of summarizing the points here presented a few generalizations or hypotheses could be advanced to suggest under what circumstances institutions change. Of course, the newspaper is not a social institution in the strictest sense of the term, yet it shows sufficient characteristics of one to warrant its being used as a working model.

Adjustment and change to new conditions appear to be forced upon an institution by competition from outside forces. The inroads made by competing agencies and institutions become so serious that they compel remedial action or else the threatened institution will disappear. Many weekly papers that did not modify their structure or their functions when competing daily newspapers, movies, inexpensive magazines and other agencies threatened their existence, died out around 1920. Others in order to survive made necessary adjustments and lived on. The decision to adopt new techniques rarely was voluntary on the part of the publishers but was in effect forced upon them.

The stimulus to change usually comes from without, not from within, the institution. New leaders and functionaries, or substantial changes in membership, often initiate adjustments in the services or the framework of an organization. Any interaction or contacts between the old established ways and new, different methods are likely to stimulate change. Even veteran leaders and long-time members, after they have come in contact with new ways of doing things, often are convinced of their value and may press for changes in the institution with which they are most closely connected. Some of the new methods used in weekly newspapers were adapted from the competing daily newspapers, others were originally worked out locally and information about them disseminated in meetings of state and national editorial associations. Without social interaction, however, there is no knowledge of other

⁴ See the author's forthcoming article in *Social Forces* on "The Country Weekly: A Source of Research Data."

practices to create dissatisfaction with prevailing ones, and without competition to stir them there is little incentive for leaders to learn of and adopt new techniques.

Four elements commonly are accepted as being essential for an institution—a rank and file membership, a leader or a staff of leaders, a physical structure and equipment, and a pattern of attitudes lending sanction to the operation of the institution and its purposes. Obviously any substantial change in any one of these elements almost certainly would cause a change in the institutional structure and services. Migration from farms and the urbanization of the remaining rural population have caused a significant change in the composition of the membership of the newspaper institution—the subscribers. The newspaper has been forced to adjust its services—i.e., its content—to take care of the modified interests of its readers. Changes in the leadership of newspapers—in the editors—have had a profound effect in stimulating intelligent adjustments. A quarter of a century ago the editor typically was a printer or a political party member, interested only secondarily in presenting the news; today the small town newspaper editor usually is a trained journalist desirous of gathering the facts about and writing an interesting, accurate account of the happenings of local importance. The migration of trained journalists to the small town newspaper field reached its greatest proportions during the early nineteen twenties. Undoubtedly these men of higher leadership caliber were able to prevent the continued decline of the weekly press by making intelligent adjustments adapted to the needs of the time and the locality. New inventions and technological changes, by affecting the physical plant and equipment, can force substantial modifications upon the structure and the functions of an institution. Mechanical changes in typesetting and printing have permitted newspaper publishers to put out larger and more attractive papers rendering greater services to their readers. At the same time these developments have increased the capital investment necessary for successful newspaper operation. Thereby local competition often has been stifled, vested interests have grown up, and the long-time interests of the rank and file have become endangered.

Finally, changes in the prevailing attitudes which give sanction to the institution, its mode of operation and its purposes will cause changes and adjustments in the institution. A free press is a basic constitutional principle in the United States, and is an attitude widely held and sanctioned. If popular attitudes supporting this ideal break down and demand that the newspapers voice the opinions of the government in power, then newspapers must adjust to the changed situation. Libel

laws, postal regulations and tax provisions can be changed with popular support to curtail the powers and privileges of the press, thereby enforcing an adjustment. So soon as the air of authority accorded an institution is challenged, so soon must the institution modify. When Americans ceased to accept the leadership of the newspaper editorial in political party affairs, the newspaper lost its former function of influencing the formation of political opinion. By discarding strictly partisan viewpoints from their editorial columns the small town papers seem to have realized better than the urban papers this fundamental shift in attitudes supporting the newspaper.

Other and more fundamental social institutions have encountered the same set of social and cultural changes which the small town newspaper has faced. In what ways and under what compulsions has the family, the rural church, the rural school, or the town government adjusted to keep pace with the times? It would be interesting and valuable to know. If we understood more adequately under what conditions and in what ways they adjust their structure and their functions to changes in the social environment, we probably could more effectively evaluate our social institutions and better plan for their orderly development.

Notes

Edited by Paul H. Landis and Robin M. Williams

NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES IN COUNTY PLANNING

"The democratic process," "planning at the grass roots," "community action," and similar phrases are now in common use among American agricultural officials. Although there is not always consensus among officials as to what these phrases mean, they are advocated by almost everyone who is connected with State and Local Planning.

In answer to local requests, the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has assisted in the delineation of communities and neighborhoods in 32 States. In Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, Kentucky, Missouri, all neighborhoods and communities will be delineated by the first of the year. In other States delineation work in as many as 10 counties has been completed. Planners hope that the many neighborhoods and communities thus delineated will furnish the bases for group action. Representatives from these areas participate in the analysis of community problems, in planning for community programs and in directing and coordinating the work of the Department of Agriculture by sending representatives to county and State committee meetings.

If the process is to work satisfactorily, the community committeemen must feel definite neighborhood and community responsibilities. They should represent the interests of their respective neighborhoods and after the meetings bring back to their neighbors at "the grass roots" the consensus of community, county, and State committees. Accordingly, it is obvious that the effectiveness of the local planning process depends upon the bonds, contacts, and status of the committeemen in the local neighborhoods and communities.

In the September 1941 issue of *Rural Sociology* Professor Heberle gave an excellent interpretation of the relationship of neighborhoods and communities as used in planning. It is in the neighborhood that the sympathetic familistic (*Gemeinschaft*) bonds offset selfish special interests and pressure groups that tend to dissolve the unity of the whole. In the trade center or so-called community, many neighborhoods, special interests, and other groups attempt to accomplish their objectives. These larger areas are in most parts of the country already secondary (*Gesellschaft*) non-familistic units. They bridge the gap between the "grass roots" and the "Great Society."

After the neighborhoods and communities in Charles County, Maryland had been delineated a typical neighborhood, White Plains, was designated for further study. Each family in the neighborhood was requested to indicate the

three families with which it visited most frequently.¹ Frequency of visitation and degrees of consanguinity were also ascertained. All visiting relationships and kinship patterns were than mapped by means of lines drawn between the dwellings of families as they appeared on a road map. (Map omitted here because of lack of space.) This map proved that the neighborhood, as previously delineated² by several local people, was an area in which people lived intimately and where face-to-face (*Gemeinschaft*) ties prevailed. Of the 182 visiting relationships reported by the 44 white families in the neighborhood only 59 or 32.4 percent of these relationships were with families outside the neighborhood. Of the 59 going outside of the neighborhood, 22 or 12.1 percent were within the larger local trade-center community and 20.3 percent went

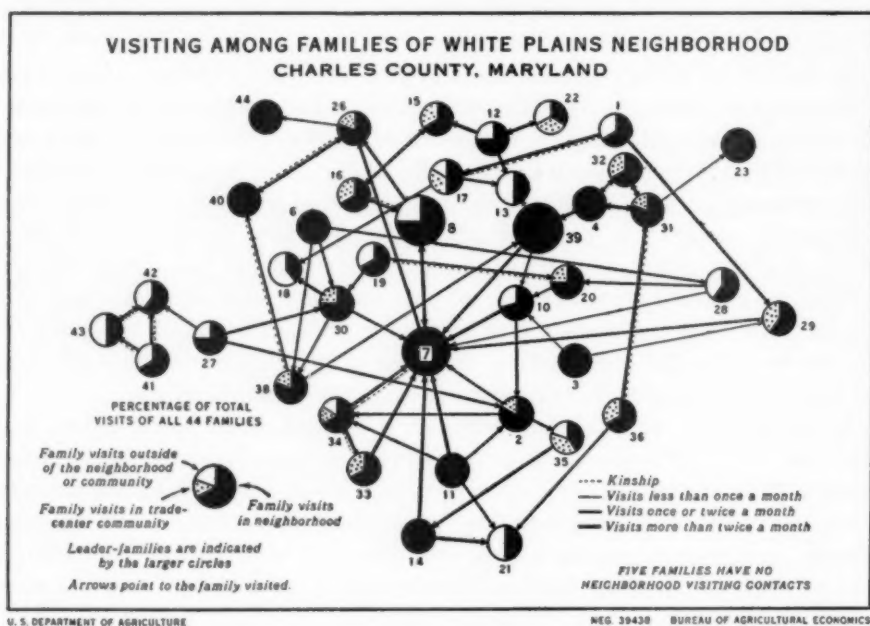


FIGURE I

to Baltimore (about 40 miles distant) or Washington, D. C. (about 25 miles distant). Of those who visit outside of the neighborhood, 74.6 percent visit relatives. Thus, the study indicates that in this neighborhood, kinship ties draw people long distances to visit. Also family visiting between white and colored families does not take place.

Figure 1, which depicts visitations by grouping families around those which have the most contacts, indicates that visiting is essentially a neighborhood

¹ Doris Groves, student at the University of Maryland, assisted with the field work.

² This delineation of communities and neighborhoods as done by planners in all parts of the country relies on folk knowledge. See Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, *Alabama Rural Communities, A Study of Chilton County*, Alabama College, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1A, July 1940, Montevallo.

affair. However, trade-center communities and the "Great Society" also have roots in the neighborhood. The larger circles indicate the three families who were listed most frequently as being capable of representing the ideas and opinions of the neighborhood at public meetings. The black portions of the circles indicate the neighborhood family visiting contacts; the stippled portions, the trade-center community family visiting contacts; and the white portions represent visiting contacts with families outside of the immediate neighborhood and community—mostly in Baltimore or Washington, D. C. The lines between the circles indicate the frequency of visitation as described in the legend. Arrows indicate the family who reported the visiting. Lines with two arrows indicate that the families represented by the circles toward which arrows are drawn gave one another's names when requested to specify the names of the three families with whom they visited most frequently. Only five families in the neighborhood are not directly or indirectly in contact with family No. 7 by visitation. When the families in the neighborhood were asked whom they would trust most to represent their own situation, ideas and opinions in public meetings on matters pertaining to agricultural production, marketing, public policy, and the like (these subjects were listed and analyzed separately), families Numbers 8, 39, and 7 were mentioned most frequently. From the map one can see that these three families are very close to the "grass roots" and thus a very definite part of the life of the neighborhood.

Analysis of leadership patterns and the functioning of formal organizations as related to such informal social patterns as those of visiting will constitute the focus for further research in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare. The present study indicates certain conclusions. Leadership is related to informal contacts. Leadership in one field may require persons tied into networks of human relationships which extend to the "Great Society" whereas leadership in another field may require the person whose major interests and experiences do not go outside the neighborhood. But as C. I. Barnard so well stated in his book, *The Functions of an Executive*, effective formal organization must have its foundation in informal organization. This holds for all agencies whether it be factories (See Roethlisberger and Dickson, *Management and the Worker*), planning committees, churches, cooperatives, or breeding associations. Sociologists who think the rural neighborhoods are dead will find that they are alive enough to make for the success or failure of many projected organizations.

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TOWN FARMING IN THE GREAT PLAINS

The reported decline in the number of farm operators in the Great Plains, associated with an apparent increase in "town farming" and rather extensive

house-moving from farm to town raises questions of interest to the rural sociologist and other students of farm census data.

To obtain information on these changes, a five-months' survey was made in thirteen counties of the Great Plains by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The field work was completed July 6. The counties investigated were selected as typical of their regions.¹ They ranged from Deaf Smith County in the Panhandle of Texas to Judith Basin County, Montana.

Preliminary findings show that in counties where wheat is a major crop, as many as one-fifth of the operators live in town. Farming by proxy, as it is sometimes described, seems to have developed on a large-scale following the inroads of drought, depression, and depopulation. There are many different types as the following names suggest: boot farmer, checkbook farmer, curbstone farmer, satchel or suitcase farmer, and sidewalk or town farmer. The boot farmer is a cattleman usually living in town who raises his own fodder; the checkbook farmer, a banker or business man farming; the curbstone farmer, usually an operator growing only wheat who is unemployed between planting and harvest and loafs in town; the satchel or suitcase farmer is usually a wheat grower who works land without a dwelling on it, camping out while planting or harvesting. His place of residence, which may be on another farm or in town, is too far away for him to commute to work. Sidewalk farmer is the general designation applied to an operator living in town in the Northern Great Plains, while town farmer is the ordinary term in the South.

There seem to be two major classes of town farmers. First, is the townsman who has exchanged the role of landlord for that of the operator as the margin of profit has decreased, or has entered farming in recent years as an operator in an attempt to spread his risks. Second, is the farmer continuing to farm who moved to town, most often for school purposes, but frequently for household conveniences, or medical, recreational, or social reasons.

The closing of rural schools resulting from out-migration has accompanied a transfer of rural religious and social activities to town. Too, the substitution of a hired laborer, often a bachelor, for the owner-operator or tenant family, has led many operators to change their residence to town in order to have neighbors of similar economic and social status.

On the part of both "dirt" and town farmers there has been extensive farm consolidation. The operator who could survive in times of plenty because "farming is the only business you can run at a loss" has migrated elsewhere in bad times, perhaps to town to subsist on relief. His place has been taken over by other farmers, not the least of whom is the business-man farmer. Suitcase farming has been discouraged by drought and depression and in the dust bowl areas has declined in importance because of local opposition. This arises because the suitcase farmer, by living far away from his land, is unable to keep it from blowing and damaging the crops of neighbors when dust storms occur.

¹ Mangus, A. R., *Rural Regions of the United States* (Washington, 1940).

Hence he is often forced to rent his land to local residents who are in a position to take care of the soil.

In Montana there was found to be a high degree of house-moving in four of the five counties studied, whereas there was very little in the South. This resulted from farm and ranch consolidation and Federal resettlement activities all growing out of drought and depression. Jordan, Montana, had almost two-thirds of its houses moved from farms. Many of these were "homestead shacks" used in Jordan as "school shacks" for the mother and children to inhabit in winter, while the father "batched" on the farm. Often the rent on the town-houses was paid with the "pupil transportation money" granted by the school district. Many of these split families were discovered renting town-houses the year round. Taking advantage of the presence of electricity and running water, these families used the town-house as a wash-house in summer, while they lived on the farm. Some of the buildings moved to town for dwellings were schoolhouses turned into residences because they were no longer needed for their original purposes. In counties where an expansion in town population did not occur and no housing demand resulted, but where farm consolidation and depopulation took place, there has been much moving of houses from farm to farm, for use as granaries and storehouses. Some farms had the appearance of small villages from a distance because so many houses had been moved in.

The findings of this survey will appear in greater detail in a report to be issued by the Bureau.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

RICHARD ASHBY

NEWS NOTE

TRINITY COLLEGE: Sioux City, Iowa, a college for men conducted by the Society of Mary (marianists), announces a new course of studies in Rural Leadership this year. It will be a four-year course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Rural Leadership.

This is planned primarily for farm youth who look forward to remaining on the farm and who want a college degree with a cultural background. The aim is also to provide a scientific knowledge of agriculture and social experience to enable farm youth to be leaders in their rural communities. The opening class will be limited to thirty students.

The course of studies will comprise the basic course of English composition and literature, training in speech and parliamentary law, research in history, sociology, government and economics, and a firm foundation in religion and philosophy.

The science courses will include biology, agricultural chemistry, soils, crops, livestock, trees, and gardening. The whole program will be geared to impress the student with farming as a way of life.

Current Bulletin Reviews

Edited by Conrad Taeuber and Homer L. Hitt

CONSUMER PURCHASES STUDY

- U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. Home Econ. *Family Income and Expenditures, Pacific Region, Part I, Family Income*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 339, Washington, D. C., 1939, 380 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Plains and Mountain Region, Part I, Family Income*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 345, Washington, D. C., 1939, 330 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Pacific Region, Plains and Mountain Region, Part I, Family Income*, Farm Series, Misc. Pub. 356, Washington, D. C., 1939, 276 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Middle Atlantic and North Central Region, New England Region, Part I, Family Income*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 370, Washington, D. C., 1940, 447 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Southeast Region, Part I, Family Income*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 375, Washington, D. C., 1940, 389 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Middle Atlantic, North Central, and New England Regions, Part I, Family Income*, Farm Series, Misc. Pub. 383, Washington, D. C., 1940, 258 pp.
- *Family Income and Expenditures, Five Regions, Part 2, Family Expenditures*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 396, Washington, D. C., 1940, 410 pp.
- *Family Housing and Facilities, Five Regions*, Urban, Village, Farm, Misc. Pub. 399, Washington, D. C., 1940, 223 pp.
- *Family Expenditures for Medical Care, Five Regions*, Urban, Village, Farm, Misc. Pub. 402, Washington, D. C., 1941, 241 pp.
- *Family Food Consumption and Dietary Levels, Five Regions*, Farm Series, Misc. Pub. 405, Washington, D. C., 1941, 393 pp.
- *Family Expenditures for Automobile and Other Transportation, Five Regions*, Urban, Village, Farm, Misc. Pub. 415, Washington, D. C., 1941, 272 pp.
- *Family Expenditures for Clothing, Five Regions*, Farm Series, Misc. Pub. 428, Washington, D. C., 1941, 387 pp.
- *Family Expenditures for Housing and Household Operation, Five Regions*, Urban and Village Series, Misc. Pub. 432, Washington, D. C., 1941, 244 pp.

These bulletins and several others that are being prepared by the Bureau of Home Economics present the results of the Consumer Purchases Survey for farm, village, and small city families.¹ The analysis of income is presented in terms

¹ Other titles in the series have been listed in *Rural Sociology*, Dec. 1940, June 1941, and Sept. 1941, and additional ones will be listed as they appear.

of income levels by family type, occupation, race (for the southeastern region only), degree of urbanization of the community, and according to sources of income. The analysis of expenditures is in terms of income levels according to the same variables and is broken down into 15 major consumption categories. Detailed separate reports were prepared for several of the more important of these categories. These reports and the summary bulletin on expenditures should prove useful to rural sociologists since they reveal far more about the relation of level of family living to family income, family type, race, occupation, and other important sociological variables than has ever been available before.

The study was made in six broad geographic regions which were believed to represent the major cultural and economic groups of the nation. The only distinctive region not included was the Southwest. However good the reasons may have been for its exclusion (the reviewer doubts their validity) national estimates and regional comparisons were greatly weakened by this omission. Moreover, the fact that few studies have been made in the region that could be used to supplement the data of this survey makes the omission the more serious.

The choice of the communities to be studied was based on economic and cultural factors but since no detailed explanation was made of the method of evaluating these factors it is difficult for the reader to determine the representativeness of the selection. In the actual sampling of families only those in which there was a husband and wife, both of whom were native-born white, were deemed eligible for inclusion. However, exceptions were made to include Negro farm families in the Southeast. In the farm sample, only operators' families were selected. While these restrictions made for greater homogeneity, and hence greater comparability than would have been possible otherwise, the usefulness of the study to rural sociologists was thereby reduced because some of the excluded groups are the very ones about whose income and consumption we know the least and need most to know about, e.g., the various tenure groups, farm laborers, broken families, and nationality groups. However, the sampling of eligible families was carefully done and for many purposes the groups included are the most important elements in the population.

From the standpoint of research methodology the study should greatly influence future investigations in this field. The technique of family sampling and of testing the adequacy of the samples designed for this study might well be used in less pretentious investigations. The glossary of terms prepared for the study gives clear cut and precise definitions, the adoption of which in subsequent studies would do much to eliminate the confusion of terminology in this field. The schedules were designed carefully and embody many of the best features of schedules that have been used in other studies of income and consumption. The results of the field work demonstrate that trustworthy data may be obtained by using relatively untrained and inexperienced schedule takers (the schedules were taken by WPA workers) under the careful direction of a sufficient number of well-trained supervisors. Statistical analysis, although it does not pretend to develop new techniques, appears to be well suited to the

data. The analysis according to family types is especially good and should be employed widely in large scale studies in the future. The analysis of expenditures according to income levels, although not new, had not been used extensively before and should find widespread adoption since it makes possible considerable analysis of the relationship between socio-economic strata and expenditure and income levels. The analysis according to size and type of community likewise provides much needed data and indicates that the technique might well be extended in future large scale studies. While regional comparisons are somewhat hampered by the limitations noted earlier, the future possibilities of such analysis in large scale studies are strongly suggested.

While the study is an excellent example of the large scale social and economic survey technique and despite the fact that the results provide students of income and consumption with the best fund of scientific knowledge ever amassed on this subject, the value of the study is reduced considerably because the writers of the bulletins rigidly restricted themselves to the presentation of facts with little or no attempt to explain their social or economic significance. It may be hoped that at some future time a summary report will be published giving in one volume the main results of this valuable study and pointing out their significance.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College

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POPULATION

*Man in the "Cut-Over"*¹ is a survey of relief and nonrelief families in 1933 and again in 1938, compared with other data from the cut-over area, to provide an analysis of family processes, family achievements and attitudes, and neighborhood community processes. The farm population in the cut-over area is classified into three groups: agricultural misfits, marginal farmers, and commercial farmers. The agricultural misfits included one-fifth of all farmers in the region; their life history shows them to have been a disadvantaged people, many of whom have continuously been on the rolls of the needy and who have found a favorable market for their services only in times of labor shortage. They are now unemployed because of the decline in rural nonfarm industries, which originally attracted them to the area, and they are essentially the group which gives origin to the name "Problem Area." They lack the equipment, as well as the basic training, ability, and inclination to farm. The second group, including about one-fourth of the farm population, are the families which, whether on relief or near the border line, offer the most favorable prospects for farm rehabilitation, provided training and agricultural resources can be obtained. The commercial farmers, including about one-half of the total farm population, are faced chiefly by the difficulties which prevail in agriculture generally. The principal conclusion from the study is that "Greater

¹ George W. Hill and Ronald A. Smith. *Man in the Cut-Over, A Study of Family-Farm Resources in Northern Wisconsin*. Research Bull. 139, 71 pp. Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. in cooperation with WPA. Madison, Apr. 1941.

individual initiative, more intelligent application of farm practices, more careful home management, a revitalized educational policy, and a stimulating co-operative family-community life are the basic needs of the people in the cut-over."

*Planning for Family Relocation*² is a "preliminary report on procedures followed and results obtained in evacuation of the basin of the Wappapello Dam, Wayne County, Missouri." Construction of the dam required the removal and relocation of approximately 450 families, of which 304 were farm families. The County Agricultural Planning Committee arranged for the collection of information concerning the needs and resources of the families and worked with the agencies which were able to assist the families. Problems encountered and experience gained by the committee are systematically reviewed, in the hope that the report can offer helpful suggestions to other areas facing similar situations. The results show that "Planning for flood control by means of dams should consider the disadvantages and costs to the displaced population above the dam as well as the advantages and gains to the population below the dam."

*New Settlement in the Mississippi Delta*³ is a nontechnical digest of the findings of several recent studies of settlement conditions on the cut-over new ground of the northeastern Louisiana delta. Similar conditions prevail, however, in the cut-over areas throughout the lower Mississippi River Valley. This publication, designed for the farmer as well as the specialist, describes both the opportunities and the serious problems facing present and future settlers.

RURAL YOUTH

The purpose of the investigation of *Youth Adjustments in a Rural Culture*⁴ was to study the occupational, educational, economic, and social adjustments of rural young people in a "small settlement of plain American rural folk whose simplicity of living standards, stability of life, religious ardor, enthusiasm for the soil, community of social interests and activities, general lack of so-called cultural polish, and widespread equality of opportunity and status hark back to a pioneer frontier society and easily distinguish this social group from others in nearby areas and from the general rural pattern of present day America."

Work is the fundamental theme in the community; 85 percent of the out-of-school boys 16-29 years old are employed in some type of gainful activity, the other 15 percent are engaged in steady unpaid family work. Girls do not seek employment outside the home. Boys and girls are expected to work and con-

² Eugene A. Wilkening and Cecil L. Gregory, *Planning for Family Relocation*. Mo. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 427, 51 pp. In cooperation with Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Columbia, Apr. 1941.

³ U. S. Dept. Agr. *New Settlement in the Mississippi Delta*. Misc. Pub. No. 442, 20 pp. June 1941.

⁴ Dorothy G. Jones. *Youth Adjustments in a Rural Culture*. Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Rur. Socio. Report No. 16, 66 pp. Blacksburg, May 1941.

tribute to the family's economic independence; the nature of work is secondary. The pattern of the community makes it possible for young people to feel that they have a place, even though their jobs do not offer large incomes or opportunities for advancement. One-half of the white out-of-school young people had completed high school; one-third of the Negroes had completed the seventh grade. The integration of the community is illustrated by the fact that "Social adjustments of Rockville youth, like their school adjustments, have been worked out easily and with little disturbance of the smooth relationship which exists between the older and younger generations in the community." Interests are simple and so are the facilities to meet them; the young people of this community appear to have made few of the choices and discriminations necessary for full social expression in a more complex environment, but many new elements are coming into the culture here as well as in less isolated rural areas.

The statistical material is supplemented by three case stories.

Rural Youth in LaPorte County, Indiana,⁵ are asking questions such as: What opportunities will there be to become farm operators in view of the increased use of mechanical power, the consolidation of farm tracts, and the increased amount of capital needed to start farming? What opportunities will there be for the rural young women who wish to become farm homemakers? What are the characteristics and the problems of rural youth that have a bearing on their future opportunities on farms and elsewhere? To help find the answers, the LaPorte County Rural Youth Club, in cooperation with other agencies, obtained information by personal interview from practically all of the rural youth 18-28 years old in seven townships during the summer of 1940. They also found out what had happened by 1940 to the boys and girls who had been graduated from the eighth grade in these townships between 1928 and 1930, and they determined the approximate number of openings for new farm operators that were likely to develop during the next five years. The results are presented in 14 charts, each accompanied by a brief text and a set of questions for discussion.

The Rural Youth of Ross County, Ohio,⁶ working with the Agricultural Planning Committee decided in 1940 to make a detailed survey of their situation and needs in order to provide material to be used in their own discussions. With the assistance of technicians from the Agricultural Experiment Station and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics they collected information from 1,602 young people 18-27 years of age who were living in the rural parts of the county.

Of each 100 young people 25 had not gone to high school, 29 had gone to high school but did not graduate, and 46 were graduated from high school. The occupational and tenure status of the father was closely related to the extent to which children completed high school. Sixty-one percent of the

⁵ Harry F. Ainsworth et al. *Rural Youth in LaPorte County, Indiana*. 37 pp. Ind. Agr. Expt. Sta. and Ext. Dept. and Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Mar. 1941.

⁶ Ohio Univ. and Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr. *The Rural Youth of Ross County, Ohio*. Dept. of Rural Econ. and Rural Socio. Bull. Nos. 140, 141, 142. Columbus, 1941.

children of farm owners, 41 percent of those of farm tenants, but only 15 percent of those of farm laborers were graduated from high school; yet 80 percent of the children of nonfarm white collar workers finished high school. The proportion of young people completing high school was twice as large in the Upland areas as in the Plateau Hill areas of the county.

These differences are characteristic not only of educational level but also of employment, unemployment, and occupational status; of participation in church and other community activities, and of the conditions under which those who established their own homes were able to live.

RURAL COMMUNITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The study of *The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama*,⁷ an agricultural island in the Cotton Belt, reports on the projection and persistence of patterns of farming. The data, collected through field interviews and from the original agricultural schedules for the census of 1930, reveal important differences in the farming activities of the Germans and non-Germans. Among these differences setting the Germans apart are a larger percentage of owners, a higher degree of residential stability, more farm improvements, and a greater diversification of crops. The current agricultural practices of Germans and non-Germans are, to a considerable extent, outgrowths of the cultural patterns introduced by the two ethnic groups, although both have made some changes and adjustments.

*A Socio-Economic Survey of the Marshdwellers of Four Southeastern Louisiana Parishes*⁸ is concerned with the social and economic life of the fishermen and trappers inhabiting the marsh areas of Jefferson, Lafourche, Plaquemines, and St. Bernard parishes. The basic data are drawn from personal observations, numerous secondary sources, and schedules for a random sample of 500 families. Among the topics treated are history, population, physiography, the family, religion, education and social heritage, trapping, fishing, and health.

MISCELLANEOUS

Home Situations on Different Classes of Land and Effectiveness of the Home Demonstration Program.⁹ Participation in the home demonstration activities of the Extension Service was closely connected with the socio-economic status of the family. Participants have a higher estimated cash income for family living; their farms are larger; more of them own their homes; more of them own automobiles and are able to drive them; their homes are better equipped with elec-

⁷ Walter M. Kollmorgen. *The German Settlement in Cullman County, Alabama*. 66 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C., June 1941.

⁸ Edward J. Kammer. *A Socio-Economic Survey of the Marshdwellers of Four Southeastern Louisiana Parishes*. The Catholic Univ. of America, Studies in Sociology, Vol. III, 189 pp., Washington, D. C., 1941.

⁹ Starley M. Hunter and L. M. Busche. *Home Situations on Different Classes of Land and Effectiveness of the Home Demonstration Program*. Ext. Studies, Cir. 3, 86 pp. Purdue Univ. and U. S. Dept. Agr., Lafayette, Ind., May 1941.

tricity, telephones, radios, running water, sinks with drain, flush toilets, power washing-machines, refrigerators, sweepers, and pressure cookers. Their houses are larger, better furnished, and their housekeeping is better; more of them do home sewing, and they produce a slightly more adequate food supply. They spend more money for medical and dental care, and more frequently subscribe to daily and weekly papers. Twice as many of them have gone beyond the eighth grade in school. Meetings in which method demonstrations were given, bulletins, leader training, indirect influence, circular letters, and junior result demonstrations, were the chief means of spreading information. The enumerators estimated that one-third of the non-participants would make reasonably good extension cooperators.

*Black Belt County*¹⁰ is a case study of the government of a particular unnamed rural county "which may be supposed to be typical of perhaps 10 counties in Alabama's black belt." Since county government is in intimate and continuous contact with the governed, the study represents an attempt to catch the spirit of democracy "at the grass roots." The non-technical chapter headings, indicating the material presented, include "Life and Living," "Will of the People," "Board of Directors," "County Manager," "Tax Officers," "The Law," "County Doctor," "The Three R's," "The Lowest Third," "Farmers and Furnish," and "Black Belt Government: The Old Way and the New." These topics leave no doubt that, first, few if any aspects of the county's government are slighted in the analysis, and, second, the county government conditions and permeates every phase of life of the inhabitants. Among the most significant aspects of government in this county of Alabama's black belt are the "growth in scale and breadth of operations," the trend toward expert administrative technique, and "the development of political-administrative leadership over county activities and institutions." Other studies, already under way, will offer similar analyses of individual counties representative of other sections of the State.

County workers frequently are in need of information about studies and data available for the county with which they deal. In an effort to meet this need, the U. S. Department of Agriculture Library has prepared lists of county references for Imperial County, California; Delta County, Colorado; Lake and Union Counties, Mississippi; and Okfuskee County, Oklahoma. Others are in course of preparation.

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Book Reviews

Edited by Nathan L. Whetten and Reed H. Bradford

Land Tenure Policies At Home and Abroad. By Henry William Spiegel. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xii + 171. \$3.00.

This volume contains a brief outline of the economics of land tenure. Much of its content consists of materials relating to legal backgrounds and European experience. It will prove interesting and valuable to a considerable number of rural sociologists who have been working on the problems of tenure. Although very sketchy in some sections, in others the book opens up vistas that are new to even the most experienced students. The titles of the six chapters into which the volume is divided convey a fair impression of the scope of the work. These are as follows: "Foundations of Land Tenure Policy," "The Legal Background of Land Tenure in the United States," "Facts and Factors in European and American Land Tenure," "Farm Tenancy Policy," "English Land Tenure Policy," and "Land Tenure Under the Swastika." A detailed bibliography and index add to the usefulness of the book.

For the most part the materials presented are well selected and not to be challenged. However, there are a few points that are indicative of serious omission, open to question, or subject to an interpretation different from the one that has been given them. Among these are the following: (1) On page 60 is a reference to Tench Coxe and T. H. Benton as the early advocates in the United States of widespread individual proprietorship. Why omit the name of Jefferson in this connection? (2) The Delta Farms which are treated in some detail (pp. 39-41) are only one of a long list of American cooperatives or collectives to which the author might have referred. (3) With much justification attention is directed to the way in which the mistaken identification of the southern cropper as a tenant in the United States Census leads to a confused thinking about tenancy. But the author is optimistic that this will be corrected by the 1940 enumeration of plantations. He fails to indicate that no such beneficial situation resulted from the comparable enumeration of plantations in 1910. (4) It is asserted (p. 113) that there is more concentration of landed property in Germany than in any other country of western civilization. Does western civilization include Latin American countries such as Chile? If so, obviously the assertion is very wrong. Furthermore, the case relative to the comparable standing of the United States and Germany is not convincing. It should be pointed out that "large farm" in Germany is defined by the author as one containing 247 acres or more while in the United States it is one containing 1,000 acres or more. This does much to account for the fact that 37.9 per cent of German farm land is in "large farms" as compared with 29.4 per cent

in the United States. However, even this differential would not exist were the effects of great concentration of land in southern plantations, not obscured by the mistaken Census identification of cropper units as "farms," and were these large operations allowed to exert their proper influence on the data for the United States. (5) It would be more correct to refer to the authors of *Cotton is King* as the "philosophers of the Cotton Kingdom" than to reserve this title for George Fitzhugh (pp. 26-27).

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

Farm Ownership, Tenancy and Land Use in a Nebraska Community. By Robert Diller. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. 192 pp. \$2.00.

This is one of the most interesting accounts of land tenure that has appeared. It is also, in some respects, one of the most disappointing. It is brief, well written, and provocative. Incredible as it may seem to anyone acquainted with recent publications on tenancy, there is even at times a flash of humor. Disappointment on the part of the reader arises from the nonchalance with which the author proffers unsupported assertions on matters vital to his argument. One might even conclude that this must be the very hallmark of legal training!

The subject of Mr. Diller's work is the history of ownership of farm land in his birthplace, Diller, Nebraska. This is a community, defined in terms of "geography supported by society and business," which comprises 300 farms; it is presented as typical of the prairie region of the Middle West. In 1939, of the total area of 67,703 acres, 74.5 per cent was farmed under lease; 177 farms were operated by tenants and 53 by part-owners.

The author states that he began this study in the expectation that certain popular notions about farming and ownership, ascribed in footnotes to Herbert Agar, Rainer Schickele, Stuart Chase, et al., would be substantiated. At its conclusion, however, the only important point on which Mr. Diller agrees with these writers is that there has been an increase in tenancy. And this point has lost its significance. For, according to Mr. Diller, an increase in tenancy is not a portent of disaster, but a natural accompaniment of "that development of stable tenure of the fee" which, as a community matures economically, is necessary for good farming (page 52). Mr. Diller derides the notion that land should be sold as soon as it cannot be farmed by its owners. "A high proportion of owner farmers in a community does not mean that the social life in the community is better than in the community where tenancy is common, nor does it mean that the land is better farmed" (page 62).

During the period from 1920 to 1940, despite agricultural depression, depleted rainfall, and drastic reduction of farm income, property in Diller farm land, little disturbed either by speculation, or by foreclosure, has become increasingly stable. There is little concentration of ownership or absentee or corporate landlordism. The increase in tenancy Mr. Diller attributes to loss of that popular interest in ownership of land which prevailed, up to 1910, while

profitable farming and the achieving of ownership were relatively easy. Nowadays when farms can no longer be paid for in a period of ten years, men prefer to operate as tenants. Only 10 to 20 per cent of the leased land is affected by tenancy which may be regarded as "abnormal" (page 53).

In the Diller community, tenant families play the same part in school, church and community activities, as those of owners. Economically they are indistinguishable. Although one year leases prevail, "Diller tenants need not worry about insecurity of tenure nor do they move from farm to farm in a shiftless habit of discontent" (page 59). Their farming practices are not inferior to those of owner-operators; indeed, the increase of tenancy has been accompanied by improvement of farming.

All this seems too good to be true. It requires proof. The defect of the book is that nowhere is proof offered, either that Diller is typical of the "prairie part of the Middle West" or that the broad assertions about tenant status rest on anything more than long familiarity with the region.

United States Department of Agriculture

WILLIAM T. HAM

The History of Land Use in the The Harvard Forest. By Hugh M. Raup and Reynold E. Carlson. Petersham, Massachusetts: Harvard Forest, Bulletin No. 20, 1941. 64 pp. 65¢.

The authors of this scholarly manuscript point out two concepts useful in silvicultural management. The first suggests that within broad limits it is possible by experimentation to find out the type of trees suited to specific soils and climates. According to this concept trees can be grown with much the same precision as some agricultural crops. The second hypothesis is that a knowledge of the composition of primeval forests and their distribution over local areas makes possible the construction of management plans. After listing the obvious practical difficulties of the first method, the authors successfully demonstrate "that present-day forest management cannot be carried on effectively without some knowledge of past land use" (page 8).

The major portion of the research described in the report involves the abstraction of titles of the land comprising the Harvard Forest for the period 1733 to 1907. The deeds not only gave the name of the owner and the boundaries of his property, but also contained information concerning the uses to which the land was put. The wills, inventories of estates and assignments found in the County Probate Records and the genealogies studied by the writers yielded much valuable information concerning the personal characteristics and family life of the early settlers. From local histories, old maps and early State Census reports, knowledge was gained of the town economy under which the various land use patterns took shape.

It is to be regretted that a more adequate population analysis was not included in the study. Without a knowledge of the age distribution of the population many of the authors' statements concerning migration to and from the area must be questioned. It is to be noted that this information is available for

1850 and 1870 in the United States Census reports, the original records of which are to be found in the Massachusetts Archives. Incidentally, these same records contain information relative to the acres cultivated in 1850. The lack of this information was bemoaned by the writers on page 24.

The methods employed in the study are worthy of consideration by all rural sociologists. It should be cautioned that, however interesting, the history of land use extending too far into the past is of little value in most planning enterprises. Forests are probably the exception.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

American Farmers in the World Crisis. By Carl T. Schmidt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pages xi + 345.

This book is a careful survey of the "farm problem" and of current governmental policies intended to deal with it. Fortunately its scope is well beyond customary discussions of measures to support the price of agricultural products. Against an historical background it poses the more basic question "Why has our agriculture, once so full of promise, become less and less able to support our vast farm population?" Schmidt is aware of the social and economic problems created by technology, and is more ready to state and to face them than are many agricultural economists. He is aware, too, that the structure of American agriculture has diverse elements, and includes types as various as the highly capitalized, highly commercial farmers of Iowa, subsistence farmers of the Appalachian-Ozark mountains, sharecroppers in cotton and tobacco, and migratory laborers—and that the welfare of these groups is not served equally by a particular measure of agricultural policy. "American farmers" is a competent contribution by an agricultural economist which enriches and deepens the perspective of current discussions of "the farm problem" by its appreciation of problems which the rural sociologist regards as basic. As such it marks a definite advance. The book remains to be written on the problems of American agriculture which the rural sociologist sees as central. Very much more thinking needs to be done before policies can be laid down which will enable our farm population to rest well and securely on the land.

University of California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States. By L. C. Kercher, V. W. Kebker, W. C. Leland, Jr., edited by R. S. Vaile. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941. 431 pp. \$3.50.

Introduction to the Cooperative Movement. By Andrew J. Kress. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers. 370 pp. \$3.00.

Anyone who has studied a dot map indicating the distribution of cooperatives in the United States knows that they are heavily concentrated in the North

Central States. Part I of *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States* written by L. C. Kercher, a sociologist, describes the contribution which the Finnish immigrants have made to the cooperative movement in this area. The reviewer believes that Kercher's segment of the book constitutes the most important recent sociological contribution to the understanding of the American cooperative movement. It differs from the hundreds of existing studies, some of which pay lip service to attitudes and social relations, in that the strength of the cooperatives investigated is related to the value orientation and solidarity of the local communities in which they are located. In the past the Finnish controlled cooperatives, which were always strongest in the cross roads setting, derived their strength from the powerful ethnic and familial bonds and primary group sympathy and solidarity. As these bonds are loosened by the Americanization process in the rural areas and urbanization in the urban areas, the cooperatives face the possibilities of disruption.

Part II by V. W. Kebker advises how cooperatives should educate consumers, manage finance, and overcome all the maladjustments of modern capitalistic society with the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth. By using some experience of American and foreign cooperative societies, the author saves his treatise from being a mere stunt of intellectual gymnastics, based upon assumptions about the economic order which are daily becoming less and less realistic. Part III, which constitutes over half of the book, is given over to case studies of local and federated consumers cooperatives.

In his book, *Introduction to the Cooperative Movement*, Andrew Kress has assembled readings which will be valuable reference material for courses in social organization. The history of the cooperative movement beginning with Robert Owen is presented, and readings about consumer's and producer's cooperatives, and cooperative banking and medicine in Europe and in America, are discussed.

Also, special chapters treat The International Cooperative Movement, The Possible Cooperative Commonwealth, and Farmer's Cooperatives in the United States, Organized Religion and the Cooperative Movement, and Present Day Statistics for the Cooperative Movement. Important special features describe several medical cooperatives including the Group Health Association of Washington, D.C., and an interpretation explaining the slow growth of the cooperative movement in the United States. In the two books only the article by Kercher undertakes a specialized analysis of cultural factors involved in the functioning of local cooperatives.

United States Department
of Agriculture

CHAS. P. LOOMIS

Youth Work Programs. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941. Pp. vii + 195. \$1.75.

American Youth—An Enforced Reconnaissance. Edited by Thatcher Winslow and Frank P. Davidson. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. 216 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Lorwin's book, *Youth Work Programs* was prepared for the American Youth Commission. It is a discussion of the youth work programs that have been in operation by means of the Work Projects Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, but with special emphasis on the work of the National Youth Administration. The major considerations concern the nature of the programs, whether they should be developed further, under what auspices, and by what methods. The discussion crystallizes into two points; the relation of the youth work programs to social advancement and to the needs of democratic citizenship. These ideas form the backlog against which the various chapters are developed.

In discussing whom the program should serve, the author shows that the National Youth Administration is helping needy youth but reaches only a small proportion of the total. He, further succinctly points out that youth in most need may not always fit into work programs that are of greatest value to the communities. The work youth do should provide training, and useful public service, and contribute to the economic well-being of the locality in which the project operates. These aims may sometimes be at variance since, for example, working on a school house may contribute very little training, though the structure may be of great value to the community.

Pertinent problems beset the operation of a works program for youth especially as respects wages and the relations of such a program to the labor supply and organized labor. Concerning all these points the author raises more questions than he answers. Furthermore, the questions pointedly challenge the lack of any comprehensive theory, policy or frame of reference to guide the programs of the youth-serving agencies.

Despite the numerous questions the author raises about the policy and program of the National Youth Administration he sees how, through trial and error, it seems, the years given to operating youth projects prior to 1940 paved the way for a program designed to aid youth to fit into needs of defense.

The book is largely based on an examination of public statements and pronouncements made by the National Youth Administration. In one respect the book is a study of documents. This study, or examination serves to present a concrete situation against which the author places principles and questions that by their implications suggest policies.

Apparently most conclusions were reached by examining the official pronouncements and reports only. The reader frequently wishes that conclusions were not prefaced by "according to reports" or "on the basis of available information." These phrases indicate that the operation of the National Youth Administration has been largely on an opportunistic basis rather than in accordance with any clearly defined policy. By reason of this fact, valuable recommendations are made for continuing youth work programs with better defined objectives and guiding policies.

Two ideas running through the essays that constitute the book entitled *American Youth—An Enforced Reconnaissance*, account for its unity. These are that millions of unemployed youth constitute a real danger to America, and that

something can be done to prevent any youth-stimulated revolution. The first of these ideas is expounded on the basis of facts; the second is advocated on faith. The discussions of the first point are studded with statistics; the conclusions on the second point are permeated with philosophy and reached by logic.

The facts concerning the situations and problems of youth, and the work being done for youth are given largely in the essays by Thatcher Winslow, Aubrey Williams and Charles Taussig. The dangers inherent in the situation are made definitive in the contributions of Reginald Henry Phelps, George S. Pettee, and Robert Ulich.

The most obvious remedial measures suggested for meeting unemployment and other maladjustments in which youth have found themselves appears to be the work camp. Work Camps for Youth, especially as found in Europe are discussed by Kenneth Holland, apparently to indicate how such camps may be effective.

The thinking of William James as found in his "Moral Equivalent of War" in the appendix forms the thought frame of reference by which the editors selected the articles. At the same time the reader feels the Continental influence on the whole book made by Eugene Rosenstock—Huessy.

The most valuable contribution of the book for 1941, in the opinion of the reviewer, is made in the last article by Rolf Gardiner in the appendix, "The Battle Dress Generation Must Win the Peace." Implicit in what he says is the fact that youth on their return from the army, navy or defense employment must have a voice in the councils of the nation and as Mrs. Roosevelt pointed out in her foreword the day of rugged individualism is over and the day of collective effort for greater security has arrived.

Washington, D. C.

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Los Tarascos. Monografía Histórica, Etnográfica, y Económica. By Lic. Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.) and nine collaborators. Mexico: University of Mexico Press, 1940. Pp. lxxiii + 311.

This is the first volume of what is intended to be a series on the native tribes of Mexico. It comprises eight short monographs by specialists in fields ranging from history to architecture. Far from being a mere miscellany, the inquiry was so organized by the Institute of Social Research of the University of Mexico that it composes into a well-rounded description of Indian life in the state of Michoacan, west of the valley of Mexico. On the whole, this is a most auspicious beginning for a project appropriate for any nation that has to govern and educate peoples of diverse culture.

Historically the material is divided into three periods, pre-colonial, colonial, and modern. In pre-colonial times the Tarascos resembled their Nahua neighbors in most respects but their language was so different that no relationship with any other has been established. Speculative explanations of this anomaly in terms of early settlement are discussed, but for lack of data none of them is quite convincing. During the long colonial period the native religion and

government were replaced by Catholicism and Spanish administration, but the economic life was little affected. The Tarascos continued to live mainly on corn and beans, supplemented by game and, along the shores of Lake Patzcuaro and within trading distance, by fish. They carried on with little change their home industries of pottery, weaving, and making the rich lacquerware that is unique in Mexico. Modern Mexico has cross-hatched their country with railroads and highways, but has made even less impress on their lives than the Spanish did. It has, indeed, split them into two factions, the traditionalists or Catholics and the agrarians, revolutionaries or atheists. But few in either camp have a clear grasp of the issues between them. Contributions of the three periods to the present culture are summarized in a table.

This study contrasts with conventional North American ethnography in its practical interest. For example, the description of native houses includes recommendations for better ventilation and more sanitary floors than the traditional tamped earth. A preliminary synthesis by the editor, who is also editor of the *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia*, concludes that since it is now impossible to revive the pre-European culture, the only feasible policy is to assimilate the Tarascos as thoroughly as possible with their fellow-citizens of modern Mexico. In view of the unforeseen and sometimes disastrous effects of well-meant meddling with primitive cultures, would it not be wiser to leave the present mixed culture alone except where it obviously harms the people or the nation?

It is probably inevitable that a work of such broad scope should have its thin spots. A striking example is the treatment of the family. In professional ethnographies we have come to expect at least a list of kinship terms and analysis of their application. Here we have only the statement that the family consists of father, mother, and children; that the *compadre* or baptismal sponsor is important, as elsewhere in Mexico; and that the father is head of the family, though there are traces of a former matriarchate. What these traces are is not specified. It seems possible that if these were analyzed, along with the kinship system, the "rites of passage" and observed behavior toward relatives, they might reveal an unsuspected pattern of relationships that should be understood by anyone attempting to regulate the lives of these people. However, this is perhaps the extreme example of the doubts that arise in the course of reading this work. In the main, congratulations are decidedly in order, and heartiest wishes for the continuance of the series.

University of Connecticut

E. G. BURROWS

American Schools in Transition. By Paul Mort and Francis Cornell. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1941. Pp. xxviii + 576. \$4.25.

This study, which brings together interpretively with new material a dozen or more studies made under the direction of the senior author, is of more than passing interest to sociologists.

The study concerns the fortunes of educational adaptations in Pennsylvania

since the turn of the century in each of 12 carefully delimited regions within this state. One hundred eighty-three of these adaptations were identified but nine were selected as representative and are followed through on a sample of 344 school districts, of which 36 were selected for intensive case study treatment. In Part I the extent of the diffusion of these adaptations and the time diffusion patterns are studied. The authors disclaim the use of the term diffusion in a strictly sociological sense. They define it as the "spreading of an adaptation through a state school system." They have, however, constructed a time table of diffusion or social change in the public education of a state of varied conditions or if one prefers they have made a measurement of cultural lag.

The striking differences in the tempo of diffusions among the regions raised questions as to the explanations of these variations. These the authors proceed to explore in Part II. The data on diffusion by region and type of school are related to several population factors, the community cultural level, home ownership, occupational character and several other factors such as wealth, tax leeway, isolation, urbanity and size of the district. Some interesting measurements of some of these factors are developed.

Part II relates the diffusion tempo to individuals and agencies such as the school board membership and its methods of work, the administrator, the type, sex, training and participation of the teachers, public opinion and participation of citizens and the parents, and also discusses the influences of state boards of education, teacher training institutions, commercial and other unofficial agencies. Part IV summarizes the main conclusions, implications and inferences.

Not all of the relationships explored are significant, some are surprising, some challenge preconceptions and prejudices.

The statistical work is very carefully done and adequate inferences and hypotheses are brought out from the case studies. The rural school takes its adequate place in the picture.

So far as the reviewer knows this is the first ambitious attempt to chart in terms of an important social institution the course of change. The methodological care with which the study has been conducted makes it far more valuable and suggestive from every point of view than the usual pioneering study. It was produced under the auspices of The Council for Research in the Social Sciences of Columbia University.

Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

The Literature of Adult Education. By Ralph A. Beals and Leon Brody. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941. Pp. xvii + 493. \$2.00.

This volume is the second in the series on the social significance of Adult Education, sponsored by the American Association for Adult Education. It is a considerable contribution and the contribution begins with the Table of Contents wherein is set forth one of the best outlines of the diverse field of Adult

Education, its purpose, clientele, media of communication, areas of activity and agencies which the reviewer has seen.

Under these categories thus laid down the literature of the field from 1929 to 1939 is briefly but penetratingly described. The titles are given at the end of each sub-section.

The authors examined approximately 10,000 references, books, articles, bulletins and reports. They list about one-fourth that number, representing the work of over 1600 writers. A high degree of discrimination was used in making the selections. The authors have not confined themselves to the professional field of Adult Education alone but include references from other areas bearing on Adult Education. The rural field, including Extension libraries, the schools, is adequately represented. The book is a unique contribution as an interpretive bibliography and is indispensable to those concerned in Adult Education.

Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Leaders for Adult Education. By Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro W. Overstreet. New York: American Association For Adult Education, 1941. 202 pages.

Defining a leader as "one person who counts as more than one," the authors have presented a thought-provoking, almost philosophical, discussion of the problem of leadership in adult education worthy of the study of any and all who work, either in a professional or a lay capacity, with groups of people and particularly adults. The authors draw their conclusions from contacts with "a fair proportion of the leaders in adult education in America." They are happy that the adult education movement has been a sort of folk movement and that leaders have been trained pretty largely by the trial-and-error method, that is by learning the meaning of leadership by taking leadership. They are concerned, however, about carrying forward not only leadership training but followership training for adult education from where it is, and they give one the impression that both have advanced as far as they can by present methods—to where it might and must go. Adult educational leadership, they believe, must now be deliberately fostered, and followership should involve much more than attendance at group meetings.

The content of the book should challenge the thinking of any educator; especially challenging is the use of a method of teaching so different from that used in the traditional schoolroom, requiring a teacher who can "deal with human beings who have kept alive their capacity for growth, help grown-ups to learn what most children know, and yet never treat them as children" and yet constantly be willing to be a learner.

The authors define adult education as "a way of putting subject-matter to work." Thus, the teacher or discussion leader, for discussion is the chief method used in adult education, must himself possess and enjoy accurate knowledge and must recognize the place for and need of expert knowledge. But the movement cannot only use experts, it also serves to take experts from one field

and place them in fields where they may be needed, though outside the institutional pattern in which they work, or it often may salvage experts by discovering people who have expert knowledge in certain fields and who have transferred their ability to other fields for the time being. The good leader in adult education is not a specialist. He is, rather, a generalist—one who can see "persons, facts, ideas, and events in their larger setting . . . a person capable of thinking in terms of meanings . . . of men and women in terms of the full range of their wants and powers." Thus, a leader in adult education must have a sense of community—"a power to think and act in terms of the real problems and resources of real places where people live." Finally, and not the least important, a leader in adult education must have a "functioning respect for other people as possessors of ideas, feelings, and experiences."

Written in a very readable style without tables or graphs, the book should prove especially valuable to extension workers including those in rural sociology, but it ought also to come to the attention of research workers and teachers as well as to the multitude of lay leaders connected with the adult education movement.

University of Illinois

DAVID E. LINDSTROM

The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860. By Albert L. Demaree. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xix + 430. \$4.00.

The voluminous reports of the Historical Records Survey, the Wisconsin Domesday Books, and the local studies by regional, nationality and other groups provide veritable mines of information for the analysis of a wide range of sociological problems. Demaree's detailed study of selected aspects of the agricultural press in the forty years preceding the Civil War re-emphasizes the value of local historical materials for sociological research, at the same time that it reveals both the painstaking labor involved in its discovery and utilization, and the limitations of the conclusions which can be drawn from the written records which survive.

The study is divided into three parts. Part I is primarily a collective summary based on an analysis of over one hundred geographically scattered journals, all traced from their origin through the period or to their demise. The general contents are described, with some analysis of the editors and their policies, special features, advertising, the ladies' departments, rural poetry, and the agricultural fair. Part II, selected articles from the journals, gives an enticing glimpse of the culture of the period and suggests numerous possibilities for research in rural social psychology. Part III gives a somewhat detailed history of sixteen representative journals.

The problem of the interaction of the press and the cultural milieu in which it exists is even more difficult for the past than for the present because so many avenues of approach are irretrievably lost. Possibly the farm press was one of the most important factors in the agricultural revolution occurring during this

period, but one cannot take for granted a causal connection between a specific occurrence and the contents of the journals of that period. The editors of these agricultural journals, as well as a considerable proportion of their subscribers, tended to be gentlemen farmers, business or professional men. Hence the question of how, and to what extent, these early journals influenced the practices and the thinking of the "dirt farmers" cannot be answered by *a priori* assumptions. Similarly, since both the editors and the subscribers throughout this period were a selected group, with definite conceptions of their crusading mission and of what constituted proper and uplifting material, is it a valid assumption that an analysis of the contents of the farm journals of the period describes "an accurate cross-section of American rural life"? Again, to what extent were these journals active influences in the transformations of rural life, and to what extent did they merely reflect such changes as were occurring?

The bibliographic work done in tracing and selecting this representative group of agricultural journals should facilitate their use as source material for other studies, whether of the history of specific institutions and movements or of the sociology and psychology of the rural life of the period covered.

Office of Population Research
Princeton University

IRENE B. TAEUBER

The Giant Joshua. By Maurine Whipple. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941. Pp. xii + 637. \$2.75.

Since the time of Hamlin Garland's somewhat sentimental stories of country life, the rural sociologists, more than their urban confrères, have appreciated fiction as revelatory of much of the human side of their field. Certainly Ham-sun, Rølvaag, Suchow, Glasgow, and Steinbeck—to name only a few—have aided us in understanding the emotional and personal aspects of rural life. Sometimes the writers of such fiction have stressed the community life; others have emphasized the personal human struggles. The present novel combines the story of the growth of a Mormon community in southern Utah and the problems of individuals in what was to our monogamous society a deviant family and sexual order.

The Mormons have long been the subject of public attention and nothing arouses more curiosity in the ordinary American than the story of plural marriage among these people. Whereas Vardis Fisher has given us the larger sweep of Mormonism as a religious movement, Miss Whipple goes into the day-by-day life of individuals and families as they struggled with a niggardly nature outside and with the passions of love, envy, jealousy, and hatred within, especially as these latter arose in a system of polygyny.

The story is built around the colonization of Washington County, Utah, whence settlers were dispatched by Brigham Young to build up a community on the fringe of the Colorado Basin. As the basis of her narrative the author has used local history, diaries, autobiographical and biographical materials,

some data from personal interviews, and her own wide knowledge as a member of this community. The central theme revolves around the emotional conflicts of the wives of a local leader, one Abijah MacIntyre. Here we witness the struggle for status among the wives, especially the appeal of youth against age and experience in the case of Clorinda, the third wife, and Bathsheba, the first. The second wife, Willie, a weak docile creature, symbolizes a neutral point between these other two women, each struggling in her own way for independence and power. The age differential between Bathsheba and Clorinda was a dominant factor in this conflict, the former was easily old enough to have been the latter's mother. And one of the emotional highlights of the novel centers in the love which sprang up between Freeborn, Bathsheba's eldest son, and Clorinda. As to historical accuracy we are not sure just how typical this situation was in Mormon polygyny, but it certainly did occur in particular families. The author has used this episode, however, in a restrained manner, not to sensationalize her story, but to show the human problems which might and did arise in a polygynous society.

Yet the deep religious faith, the reliance on a somewhat dictatorial leadership, and the readiness to sacrifice personal pleasure for community and family solidarity were sufficient to restrain these natural passions and to keep Clorinda and Freeborn in line. Not only did such influences serve to inhibit the overt expression of the impulses of these two characters; but throughout the whole narrative it is indicated how these same factors operated to keep up community morale and to stimulate hope and enterprise when economic and material resources were at a minimum.

The author has not only written a sound piece of fiction, but has succeeded in catching the inner strength and weakness which underlay the hard work, the persistence, and the occasional discouragement of these pioneers who not only had to subdue a desert, discipline themselves, but also to face a hostile Christian world outside. It was this external pressure which, in time, forced them to abandon the "strange" practice of plural wifehood.

Such a volume is a sound supplement to our scientific literature on the community and the personality. If sympathetic understanding be among the aims of sociology, the reviewer is sure that much is to be said for this type of presentation. In some ways it is more revealing than some of the more "objective" data with which we deal. But even if one does not accept this standpoint and qualification, *The Giant Joshua* will long remain good reading.

Queens College

KIMBALL YOUNG

Salt of the Earth. By Victor Holmes. With an introduction by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941. 311 pp. \$2.50.

In his introduction to this book, William Allen White expresses the hope that it may be read widely in England by students of American sociology. The present reviewer goes further to hope that it may be read equally widely by American students of American sociology. This hope, however, is not to be

construed to indicate that the book is a sociological treatise written for sociologists by a professional sociologist. It is rather a series of glimpses into the life, personalities, and "social dynamics" of Grand City, written by the editor, under a pen name, of the *Argus-Tidings*, the local weekly. The setting is a small town which the reader has little difficulty in locating somewhere between St. Louis and Denver.

To the sociologist it is a truism that social data are where you find them, and that, moreover, the best works in sociology are often written unwittingly by persons who never intended to be sociologists. While this book is far from a "best work" in this sense, it contains much of sociological interest. It offers insight into the professions, and their places in the social structure, the status and problems of the marginal man, the upper-crust, the committee woman, as well as the butcher and the baker. Not only provocative but enlightening are the community's reactions to the horse-and-buggy doctor who collected "a host of lively fees that walked about on hoof and claw", as well as to the successful physician who bought fluoroscopes yet owned several business blocks in anticipation of a round-the-world retirement. Mr. Holmes corroborates an hypothesis set forth recently by the reviewer that the files of a country newspaper adequately reveal a biography of the community. His book is full of folklore and social mythology which the late Sir James Frazer never encountered in his efforts to solve the mystery of the holy branch of Diana's temple: the "mountain oyster festival" which occurs each autumn when a sufficient number of "severed accessories" have been collected from bull calves, the interdenominational wakes and the grave stones in the form of huge red concrete hearts with hollow centers holding wedding veils and childhood keepsakes inviolate, the ecology and sociology of the rabbit drives, and election week with its box car of free whisky and its careless ladies from St. Louis.

More basically, from the sociological point of view, the book offers a sustained though informal argument for the significance of primary group relations. It is required reading for all skeptics of academic rural sociology. But only the first ten pages need be required: the reader will not stop once he finds the editor facing a possible libel suit resulting from an "e" that failed to grow up into an "l" in his report that the local football coach was "laid up in bed with a bad coed."

New Jersey College
for Women

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY

Social Work Year Book 1941. New York. Russell Sage Foundation, 1941.
794 pp. \$3.25.

Social Work at the Grass Roots. *Survey Midmonthly*, February, 1941. 39 pp.

Rural sociologists at times must feel a kinship for that newest of entrants into the rural field—the county welfare worker. Undoubtedly this statement will be taken with mixed feelings by some of the rural sociologists who are content to study the rural community as it is and who will have no truck with

anyone whose very coming means change. Another group of rural sociologists without an undue show of cordiality will recognize the inevitability of the social worker and will suffer association with him or her. A third group will recognize that at least since the FERA days of 1933 the county welfare worker has been a dynamic agent in the rural community and is apparently here to stay.

Certainly the social workers are learning that they are a part of the rural community. They, too, like the rural sociologist need to study and know their community. If the sociologist is prone to quarrel with the social worker for wanting to change things to what they ought to be it may be well to remember that such a function is supported by tax funds. What knowledge of the rural community the social worker possesses has come largely from day in and day out participation in the community process.

One evidence of this increasing knowledge is the space devoted to rural social work as reported in the *Survey Midmonthly*. The special issue for February, 1941 entitled "Social Work at the Grass Roots" goes over ground familiar to many rural workers and rural sociologists. Many will recognize the counterpart of "Big" County that remains rural despite its 50,000 population because the people and the geography make it so, and "Mining" County where the Welfare Director, Mrs. Warren, "counts her community resources not only by organized agencies, public and private, but also, and literally, by the census of solvent citizens within the county. Most of the people are working for her, in one way or another." Other recognizable units are "Mountain" County and "Remote" County. In an excellent article "All This and Heaven Help Us, Too" are these lines applicable not only to social workers but to all who work in any community: "What is needed is sympathy and intelligence, and a rational control that will direct potential energy and insight. One without the other two is ineffectual. Without sympathy, one has little drive; without intelligence, one sits impassive, uttering restrained cooing sounds; without rational control one will fall on his face—bright, eager, young as that face may be."

Another item of literature that will prove a valuable source book to the rural sociologist is the *Social Work Year Book*, published biennially by the Russell Sage Foundation. The 1941 issue is particularly valuable if only for the four pages of Introduction that summarize the profound changes that have taken place in the decade since the volumes were first issued. Rural sociologists will find themselves well repaid by reading the topical articles by outstanding specialists. Especially recommended are the following: Community Organization for Social Work, Federal Agencies in Social Work, Old Age Assistance, Public Assistance, Public Health, Public Welfare, Rural Social Programs, Work Relief, and Youth Programs. The county welfare worker has learned much about community organization from the rural sociologist, and stands willing and competent to exchange some useful experience and knowledge as witness this latest of many useful volumes.

The University of Georgia

ARTHUR E. FINK.

News Notes and Announcements

Edited by Robert A. Polson

Program of the
Fourth Annual Meeting of the
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
December 27-29, 1941
New York City
Roosevelt Hotel, Headquarters

RURAL LIFE AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Saturday, December 27

10 a.m.-12 m. FIRST GENERAL SESSION. Hendrick Hudson Room

Rural Population and National Defense

Presiding, C. E. LIVELY, University of Missouri

The Role of Rural Society in the Production of Workers and Soldiers. WARREN

S. THOMPSON, Scripps Foundation for Population Research

Discussed by: WILLIAM E. COLE, University of Tennessee

Migration and National Defense. O. D. DUNCAN, Oklahoma A. and M.
College

Discussed by: LELAND B. TATE, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

General Discussion

12:15 p.m. LUNCHEON. Hendrick Hudson Room

Business Meeting. Report of the Committee on Teaching. C. R. HOFFER,
Chairman. Discussion

Presiding, T. LYNN SMITH, Louisiana State University

3 p.m.-5 p.m. SECOND GENERAL SESSION. Hendrick Hudson Room

Rural Public Welfare and National Defense

Presiding, ERNEST BURNHAM, Western State Teachers College

Rural Health, Public Health Programs, and National Defense. HAROLD

F. DORN, U. S. Public Health Service

Discussed by: MARGUERITE WILLIAMS, Works Projects Administration
in Kentucky

Rural Public Assistance and National Defense. JOSEPHINE BROWN, Catholic
University of America

Discussed by: JUDSON T. LANDIS, Southern Illinois State Normal
University

The Rural Negro and National Defense. FELTON G. CLARK, Southern University

Discussed by: J. W. MITCHELL, North Carolina A. and T. College
General Discussion

Sunday, December 28

8 a.m. BREAKFAST. Small Ballroom

Presiding, GEORGE W. HILL, University of Wisconsin
Report of the Committee on Research. Discussion

10 a.m.-12 m. THIRD GENERAL SESSION. Hendrick Hudson Room
Rural Institutions and National Defense

Presiding, EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER, Columbia University

The School and National Defense. FRANK W. CYR, Columbia University

Discussed by: HAROLD CHRISTENSEN, Brigham Young University

The Church and National Defense. THOMAS ALFRED TRIPP, The Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches

Discussed by: GORDON BLACKWELL, University of North Carolina

The Family and National Defense. DOROTHY DICKINS, Mississippi State College.

Discussed by: W. A. ANDERSON, Cornell University
General Discussion

3 p.m. ROUND TABLE ON STATE AND FEDERAL RELATIONSHIPS. Hendrick Hudson Room

Presiding, RAY E. WAKELEY, Iowa State College

8 p.m. JOINT SESSION WITH THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY for Presidential Addresses. Grand Ballroom

Presiding, HOWARD W. ODUM, University of North Carolina

Can Sociologists Face Reality? STUART A. QUEEN, Washington University, President of the American Sociological Society

The Role of the Village in Rural Society. T. LYNN SMITH, Louisiana State University, President of the Rural Sociological Society

Monday, December 29

8 a.m. BREAKFAST. ROOM H & K

Presiding, A. F. WILEDEN, University of Wisconsin
Report of Committee on Extension. Discussion

10 a.m.-12 m. FOURTH GENERAL SESSION. Hendrick Hudson Room
The Role of the Rural Sociologist in National Defense

Presiding, NATHAN L. WHETTEN, University of Connecticut

Presentation: CARL C. TAYLOR, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Discussion: RUPERT VANCE, University of North Carolina
B. O. WILLIAMS, University of Georgia
B. L. HUMMEL, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
General Discussion

12:15 p.m. JOINT LUNCHEON WITH AMERICAN FARM ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION.
Hendrick Hudson Room
Presiding, T. LYNN SMITH, Louisiana State University
Toward a More Adequate Approach to the Farm Tenure Problem. KARL
BRANDT, Stanford University

8 p.m. JOINT SESSION WITH AMERICAN FARM ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION. Hend-
rick Hudson Room
Round Table on Tenure Problems and Policies
Presiding, H. C. M. CASE, University of Illinois
Participants: KARL BRANDT, Stanford University
HAROLD HOFFSOMMER, Louisiana State University
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Fisk University
RAINER SHICKELE, Iowa State College
E. D. TETREAU, University of Arizona

CONSTITUTION

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

January, 1941

- Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.
- Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.
- Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.
- Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.
- Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.
- Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to

officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The officers and elected member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting.

Article VIII. *Annual Meeting.* The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. *Amendments.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

Article I. *Membership Dues.*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become members upon the payment of two dollars and fifty cents per annum.

Article II. *Standing Committees.*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. *Publications.*

Section 1. The quarterly journal, RURAL SOCIOLOGY, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of RURAL SOCIOLOGY shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board

of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to RURAL SOCIOLOGY.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of Rural Sociology shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a purposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. *Elections.* (As amended December, 1939.)

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate three candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary before November first. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the three nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who have received a plurality of the ballots cast.

Article V. *Vacancies.*

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

Article VI. *Amendments.*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

HEADQUARTERS FOR ANNUAL MEETING

The headquarters for the Christmas meetings of the Rural Sociological Society will be in the Hotel Roosevelt, New York City. The hotel rates for those who are attending the Conference will be single room with bath \$3.00, double room with bath \$5.00.

1941 Membership List—Rural Sociological Society

Alabama

Andrews, Henry L.....	University of Alabama.....	University
Broadly, T. Rupert.....	Tuskegee Institute.....	Tuskegee Institute
Davis, Ralph N.....	Tuskegee Institute.....	Tuskegee Institute
Gomillion, Charles G.....	Tuskegee Institute.....	Tuskegee Institute
Nunn, Alexander.....	<i>Progressive Farmer</i>	Birmingham

Arizona

Tetreau, E. D.....	University of Arizona.....	Tucson
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Arkansas

Baker, John A.....	2209 Main Street.....	Little Rock
Bonslagel, Connie J.....	524 Post Office Building.....	Little Rock
Charlton, J. L.....	University of Arkansas.....	Fayetteville
Halfacre, G. May.....	507 Donaghey Trust of F.S.A.....	Little Rock
Metzler, William H.....	University of Arkansas.....	Fayetteville
Reid, Roy T.....	414 Donaghey Trust Building.....	Little Rock
Shafer, Karl A.....	643 Donaghey Building.....	Little Rock
Standing, T. J.....	643 Donaghey Building.....	Little Rock
Wilson, Isabella C.....	University of Arkansas.....	Fayetteville

California

Benedict, M. R.....	University of California.....	Berkeley
Fuller, Varden.....	222 Mercantile Building.....	Berkeley
Griffin, F. L.....	College of Agriculture.....	Davis
Hanger, Michael R.....	222 Mercantile Building.....	Berkeley
Mirkowitz, Nicholas.....	University of California.....	Berkeley
Post, Lauren C.....	San Diego State College.....	San Diego
Taylor, Paul S.....	University of California.....	Berkeley
Thomas, Dorothy Swaine.....	University of California.....	Berkeley

Colorado

Longmore, T. Wilson.....	124 West Myrtle St.....	Fort Collins
Roskelley, R. W.....	Colorado State College.....	Fort Collins

Connecticut

Brundage, A. J.....	University of Connecticut.....	Storrs
Draper, C. R.....	University of Connecticut.....	Storrs
Hypes, J. L.....	University of Connecticut.....	Storrs
Riecken, Henry W.....	University of Connecticut.....	Storrs
Van Vleck, Joseph, Jr.....	55 Elizabeth St.....	Hartford
Whetten, N. L.....	University of Connecticut.....	Storrs
Woodward, Ralph.....	409 Prospect Street.....	New Haven

MEMBERSHIP LIST

375

District of Columbia

Armstrong, Miss Florence A....	Social Security Board.....	Washington
Ashby, Dick.....	1730 M Street N.W.....	Washington
Baker, O. E.....	U.S.D.A. Bureau of Ag. Econ.....	Washington
Bradshaw, Nettie P.....	3722 13th St. N.W.....	Washington
Folsom, Josiah C.....	U.S.D.A. Bureau of Ag. Econ.....	Washington
Galpin, C. J.....	U.S.D.A. Bureau of Ag. Econ.....	Washington
Gardner, Ella.....	U.S.D.A. Extension Service.....	Washington
Gilliland, C. B.....	2739 S. Agricultural Bldg.....	Washington
Ham, William T.....	3618 Ordway St. N.W.....	Washington
Kirkpatrick, E. L.....	744 Jackson Place.....	Washington
Kollmorgen, Walter M.....	Bureau of Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Larson, Olaf F.....	Bureau of Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Loomis, Dr. Charles P.....	Bureau Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Melvin, Bruce L.....	R.F.D. 5.....	Anacostia
Noll, Miriam.....	U. S. Dept. of Labor.....	Washington
Page, John S.....	Bureau of Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Robert, Percy A.....	Catholic University.....	Washington
Rose, John Kerr.....	6928 Maple St. N.W.....	Takoma Park
Schmiedeler, Rev. Edgar.....	1312 Massachusetts Ave.....	Washington
Sletto, Raymond F.....	Bureau of Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Sneed, Melvin W.....	The Brookings Institute.....	Washington
Stanley, Louise.....	3223 Macomb St.....	Washington
Taylor, Carl C.....	5166 Tilden St. N.W.....	Washington
Taylor, Mary Splawn.....	Bureau Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Vogt, Paul L.....	A.A.A., U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Wells, Oris V.....	Bureau of Ag. Econ. U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Wilson, M. L.....	Extension Service, U.S.D.A.....	Washington
Woofter, T. J., Jr.....	2001 16th St.....	Washington
Youngblood, B.....	3816 Jenifer St. N.W.....	Washington

Florida

Moore, Coyle E.....	Florida State College for Women....	Tallahassee
Shankweiler, Paul W.....	Florida State College for Women....	Tallahassee

Georgia

Andrews, Myron E.....	21 Harris St. N.W.....	Atlanta
Coleman, Lee.....	Bureau Ag. Econ., U.S.D.A.....	Atlanta
Elrod, Julius M.....	Berry College.....	Mount Berry
Galloway, Robert E.....	249 Peachtree St.....	Atlanta
Matthews, M. Taylor.....	249 Peachtree St.....	Atlanta
Osborn, George C.....	Berry College.....	Mount Berry
Raper, Arthur.....	Bureau Ag. Econ., U.S.D.A.....	Greensboro
Williams, B. O.....	University of Georgia.....	Athens

Idaho

*Nelson, R. K.....	Montpelier
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Illinois

Bailey, D. L.....	Western Ill. State Teachers College..	Macomb
Case, H. C.....	College of Agriculture.....	Urbana

* Student member.

Cummins, Rev. Ralph.....	425 N. Edward St.....	Decatur
*Funderburg, D. D.....	22 South State St.....	Elgin
Gerling, Mrs. Amy Gessner.....	612 South Liberty Ave.....	Freeport
Henry, Sister.....	Rosary College.....	River Forest
Lake, James H.....	Kiwanis International.....	Chicago
Landis, Judson T.....	Southern Illinois Normal University.....	Carbondale
Lindstrom, D. E.....	University of Illinois.....	Urbana
*Mosbacker, E. G.....	University of Illinois.....	Urbana
Price, Maurice T.....	332 Lincoln Hall.....	Urbana
*Regnier, E. H.....	University of Illinois.....	Urbana
Smith, Rockwell C.....	Garrett Biblical Institute.....	Evanston
*Stadel, E. V.....	University of Illinois.....	Urbana
*Vergeront, Glen V.....	University of Illinois.....	Urbana
Younge, Eva R.....	1414 East 59th St.....	Chicago

Indiana

Beck, P. G.....	Farm Security Administration.....	Indianapolis
Cramer, Llewelyn.....	3820 Carrollton Ave.....	Indianapolis
Davison, Victor H.....	484 Maple St.....	West Lafayette
Greene, Shirley E.....	Meron Institute.....	Meron
Hall, O. F.....	Purdue University.....	Lafayette
Hershberger, Guy F.....	Goshen College.....	Goshen
Hoffman, Charles S.....	Farm Security Administration.....	Indianapolis
Mather, William G., Jr.....	949 E. Jefferson St.....	Franklin
Shideler, Ernest H.....	829 North Main St.....	West Lafayette
Van Huss, A. B.....	Farm Security Administration.....	Lebanon

Iowa

Anderson, Arnold C.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
Bankert, Zetta E.....	223 East Sixth St.....	Ames
*Beegle, J. Allan.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
Clark, Robert C.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
Graff, E. F.....	525 Ash.....	Ames
Leimkuhler, E. M.....	Trinity College.....	Sioux City
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*Ortmeyer, Carl.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
*Roberts, Charles D.....	Box 622.....	Iowa City
Ryan, Bryce.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
Stacy, W. H.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames
Tudor, William J.....	432 Hayward Ave.....	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E.....	507 Lynn Ave.....	Ames
Yang, Hsin Pao.....	Iowa State College.....	Ames

Kansas

Brockway, Marian L.....	601 West Park St.....	Olathe
Hill, Randall C.....	Kansas State College.....	Manhattan
Knoebber, Sister Mildred.....	Mount St. Scholastica College.....	Atchison
Wolters, Rev. Gilbert.....	St. Benedicts College.....	Atchison

Kentucky

Beers, Howard W.....	University of Kentucky.....	Lexington
Gray, Wayne T.....	404 North Main St.....	Barbourville

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MEMBERSHIP LIST

377

Nicholls, W. D.....	University of Kentucky.....	Lexington
Oyler, Merton.....	Agr. Experiment Station.....	Lexington
Sanders, Irwin T.....	University of Kentucky.....	Lexington
Vaughn, Theo L.....	Agr. Experiment Station.....	Lexington
Williams, Robin M.....	University of Kentucky.....	Lexington

Louisiana

Ashburn, Karl E.....	Southwestern Louisiana Institute.....	Lafayette
Ballinger, Roy A.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
*Boyer, Phillips B.....	2810 Perkins Road.....	Baton Rouge
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Clark, Felton G.....	Southern University.....	Scotlandville
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Duncan, O. D.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Frey, Fred C.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Hoffsover, Harold C.....	Center Agricultural Bldg.....	University
Hyde, Roy E.....	Southeastern Louisiana College.....	Hammond
Leonard, Olen E.....	Box 2624.....	University
Lott, E. H.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
*McClure, John H.....	Rural Route I.....	Baton Rouge
Mims, Mary.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Nichols, Ralph R.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Parenton, Vernon J.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Pryor, Herbert.....	3029 Highland Road.....	Baton Rouge
*Ramsey, R. J.....	Dept. of Rural Sociology.....	University
Roberts, Ralph W.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Schuler, Edgar.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Smith, Marion B.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
Smith, T. Lynn.....	Louisiana State University.....	University
*Tatum, Julien R.....	Department of Rural Sociology.....	University
Thompson, Susanne.....	North Agricultural Bldg.....	University

Maine

Niederfrank, E. J.....	University of Maine.....	Orono
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Maryland

Dodson, Linden S.....	2 Gardenway Road.....	Greenbelt
Holt, John B.....	University of Maryland.....	College Park
Oliver, J. A.....	Princess Anne College.....	Princess Anne
**Taubert, Conrad and Irene.....	201 Jackson Ave.....	Hyattsville

Massachusetts

*Bradford, Reed H.....	Harvard University.....	Cambridge
Cussler, Margaret T.....	629 Washington St.....	Wellesley
Davis, Arthur K.....	26 Hurlbut St.....	Cambridge
DeGive, Mary L.....	629 Washington St.....	Wellesley
*DuWors, Richard.....	13a Ware St.....	Cambridge
*McDonald, Gilman.....	Harvard University.....	Cambridge
McEntire, Davis.....	18 Chauncey Street.....	Cambridge
McIntire, H. Ruth.....	Massachusetts State College.....	Amherst

* Student member.

** Joint member.

Mann, Albert Z.....	Springfield College.....	Springfield
*Reynard, Charles O.....	366 Harvard St.....	Cambridge
*Safford, N. Morton.....	235 Main St.....	Hingham
*Tancharoensukh, Seng.....	Soldiers Field.....	Cambridge
*Young, Chester W.....	Harvard University.....	Cambridge
†Zimmerman, Carle C.....	Harvard University.....	Cambridge

Michigan

Amis, Otis C.....	Western State Teacher's College.....	Kalamazoo
Burnham, Ernest.....	R.F.D. 7.....	Kalamazoo
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Harper, Ernest B.....	Michigan State College.....	East Lansing
Hoffer, C. R.....	Michigan State College.....	East Lansing
Holmes, Roy H.....	706 Monroe St.....	Ann Arbor
Honigsheim, Paul.....	Michigan State College.....	East Lansing
Mumford, Eben.....	710 Chittenden Drive.....	East Lansing
Robinson, William McKinley.....	1414 Low Road.....	Kalamazoo
Stearns, Troy L.....	Box 207.....	Ypsilanti
Thaden, John F.....	Michigan State College.....	East Lansing

Minnesota

Burns, Sister Anne.....	College of St. Benedict.....	St. Joseph
*Davies, Vernon.....	University of Minnesota.....	Minneapolis
Dvoracek, D. C.....	University Farm.....	St. Paul
Hynes, Emerson.....	St. John's University.....	Collegeville
Jacobson, Ernest T.....	Sup't Cokato Public Schools.....	Cokato
Lampe, Arthur.....	501 Courthouse.....	Duluth
Miller, Ralph E.....	University Farm.....	St. Paul
Mitchell, Don.....	University Farm.....	St. Paul
Nelson, Lowry.....	University Farm.....	St. Paul
*Paschke, John W.....	311 7th Ave. S.E.....	Minneapolis
Prickett, Glen I.....	University of Minnesota.....	Morris
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*Wakefield, Olaf.....	University of Minnesota.....	Minneapolis

Mississippi

Cranfill, S. E.....	Mississippi College.....	Clinton
Dickens, Dorothy (Dr.).....	Mississippi State College.....	State College
Dunn, Read, Jr.....	Delta Council.....	Stoneville
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Welch, Claude L.....	State College
Wilkinson, S. A.....	Mississippi Southern College.....	Hattiesburg

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Almack, Ronald B.....	University of Missouri.....	Columbia
Gregory, Cecil L.....	State Office Bldg.....	Jefferson City
*Lind, Marvin B.....	238 Hirth St.....	Columbia

* Student member.

† Contributing member.

Lively, Charles E.	University of Missouri.	Columbia
Long, H. R.	University of Missouri.	Columbia
*Meier, Miss Iola.	Rural Sociology Department.	Columbia
Senior, Clarence.	University of Kansas City.	Kansas City
*Wilkening, Eugene A.	231 Mumford Hall.	Columbia

Montana

Renne, R. R.	Montana State College.	Bozeman
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Nebraska

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Hay, Donald G.	614 Terminal Bldg.	Lincoln
Starch, E. A.	621 Terminal Bldg.	Lincoln

New Hampshire

Farnum, Idella K.	Keene Teachers College.	Keene
McVoy, Edgar C.	University of New Hampshire.	Durham
Theriault, George F.	Dartmouth College.	Hanover

New Jersey

Felton, Ralph A.	Drew Forest.	Madison
Kirk, Dudley.	Princeton University.	Princeton
Nichols, Charles K.	P. O. Box 25.	Princeton
Olcott, Mason.	II Seminary Place.	New Brunswick
*Turnquist, Mrs. Dorothy A.	Box 56.	Morristown

New Mexico

Johansen, Sigurd.	New Mexico State College.	State College
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New York

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Zapata, Jose M.	University of Puerto Rico.	Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

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 45 Students
 1 Joint
 1 Contributing

 376 Total

* Student member.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY: The annual convention of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference was held at Jefferson City, Missouri, the Archdiocese of St. Louis, on October 5-8. Such topics as Rural Youth, Land Tenure, Rural Welfare, Cooperatives, Education, the Land's Promise for the Negro, were discussed. Attention was given to the rural missionary work, particularly the "motor mission" which Dr. Edgar Schmiedeler of this University, has urged for several years as the most promising means of strengthening and building up the rural church. Bishop Vincent J. Ryan of Bismarck, North Dakota, was succeeded in the presidency of the Conference by Bishop Aloisius J. Muench of Fargo, North Dakota.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY: Mr. Clyde V. Onyett, has been appointed as graduate assistant in sociology.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY: Professor Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor of Rural Sociology, reported for active military duty on September 27th. Professor Zimmerman, who is a reserve officer, will be stationed at Fort Williams, Maine. Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Senior Social Scientist of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C. has taken Professor Zimmerman's place for the coming year.

Dr. Marshall E. Jones and Dr. George Devereux have been appointed Associate Professors of Sociology at the University of Wyoming.

American Book Company has announced the publication of P. A. Sorokin's fourth volume of his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, E. P. Dutton published Mr. Sorokin's *Crisis of Our Age* (the lectures he gave at the Lowell Institute), and Oskar Piest has announced the publication of Mr. Sorokin's *Sociocultural Causality, Space and Time*.

Dr. Louis Balsam, former graduate student, has been appointed Dean of Men and Professor of Sociology at Reed College.

Dr. E. Y. Hartshorne has gone to Washington for this year and possibly longer.

Professor Constantine Panunzio taught two courses in the Summer School.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE: The following have been appointed research assistants in the Department of Rural Sociology for the year 1941-1942: Edward Collins, University of Connecticut and Massachusetts State College; F. Marion Henderson, Brigham Young University; Maurice Rothberg, University of Melbourne and Louisiana State University, has been appointed to a teaching fellowship for the year 1941-1942. Jay T. Wakeley, Iowa State College, who has been appointed as research assistant in the Department of Experimental-Statistics, is taking graduate work in rural sociology. Robert J. Milliken, University of North Carolina, and Sloan R. Wayland, Hendrix College and Louisiana State University, have been appointed research assistants in the Institute for Research in Social Science at Chapel Hill under a cooperative arrangement with the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station.

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